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ABSTRACT

These conference proceedings approach urban education from three perspectives. The first section describes basic issues in urban education: financial problems, legal mandates, cultural diversity, and desegregation. Papers included are: "Financing Urban Schools" by Richard A. Rossmiller; "Legal Issues in Urban Education" by Virginia D. Nordin; "Education That is Multicultural for Urban Schools: Rationale and Recommendation" by Carl A. Grant; and "Perspectives on Desegregation/Integration" by Charles D. Moody, Sr. The Implications of these issues for instructional programming, teacher inservice, and citizen advocacy are examined in the second section. Papers included are: "Improving the Effectiveness of Urban Schools: Instruction" by Edgar G. Epps; "Improving the Effectiveness of Urban Schools: Teacher Education" by LaMar P. Miller; "Improving the Effectiveness of Urban Schools: Citizen Participation" by Don Davies; "Improving the Effectiveness of Urban Schools: Educational Research" by Francis S. Chase. In the last section, educators describe successful programs in urban schools. Papers included are: "A Dallas Story" by Nolan Estes; "A Buffalo Story" by Eugene T. Reville; "A St. Louis Story: Magnet Schools--A Means to an End" by Robert Wentz; "A Denver Story" by James H. Daniels; and "An Oakland Story" by Rosemma B. Wallace. (Author/MK)

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Practical Paper No. 22

1978 URBAN CONFERENCE REPORT

by

Marvin J. Fruth and Booker Gardner

Report from the Project on
Studies of Implementation of Individualized Schooling

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U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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- conducting and synthesizing research to clarify the processes of school-age children's learning and development
- conducting and synthesizing research to clarify effective approaches to teaching students basic skills and concepts
- developing and demonstrating improved instructional strategies, processes, and materials for students, teachers, and school administrators
- providing assistance to educators which helps transfer the outcomes of research and development to improved practice in local schools and teacher education institutions

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WISCONSIN RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
CENTER FOR INDIVIDUALIZED SCHOOLING

Table of Contents

Page

List of Figures ix

Abstract. xi

Introduction. 1

PART ONE: ISSUES IN URBAN EDUCATION. 3

FINANCING URBAN SCHOOLS 4
Richard A. Rossmiller

Some Problems in Urban School Finance 6
Problems of Raising Revenue 10
Meeting the Fiscal Needs of Urban Schools 12
References. 14

LEGAL ISSUES IN URBAN EDUCATION 16
Virginia Davis Nordin

Basic Issues. 17
Summary 39

EDUCATION THAT IS MULTICULTURAL FOR URBAN SCHOOLS: RATIONALE AND RECOMMENDATION 42
Carl A. Grant

Rationale for Education that is Multicultural for Urban Schools . . 44
Recommendation: Use Planned Change Strategies and Keep in Clear Perspective that the School is a Dynamic Social System 67
Conclusion. 89

PERSPECTIVES ON DESEGREGATION/INTEGRATION 91
Charles D. Moody, Sr.

The Segregation to Integration Continuum. 94

Table of Contents
(Continued)

Page

PART TWO: PERSPECTIVES ON THE ISSUES 99

IMPROVING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF URBAN SCHOOLS: INSTRUCTION. 100
Edgar G. Epps

Expectations: Teachers, Parents, Students. 102
Politics and Policy 108
Mastery Learning in Chicago 115
Conclusion. 119
References. 123
Reference Notes 126

IMPROVING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF URBAN SCHOOLS: TEACHER EDUCATION. . . 127
LaMar P. Miller

The Problems of Secondary Education 131
Adult Involvement 135
A Framework for Quality Education 138
Systematic Self-renewal Through Inservice Training. 142
References. 150
Reference Notes 152

IMPROVING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF URBAN SCHOOLS:
CITIZEN PARTICIPATION 153
Don Davies

Current Status: High Quantity and Wide Variety 156
Challenges to Professional Control. 158
Federal and State Initiatives 159
Issues and Styles of the 1970's 160
Empowering Mandated Groups. 161
Strengthening Self-initiated Groups 162

IMPROVING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF URBAN SCHOOLS:
EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH. 164
Francis S. Chase

Purposes, Strategies, and Procedures. 168
Comments on the Pilot Year. 170
Encouraging Developments. 172
Examples of Successful Programs 175
Tentative Generalizations 182

Table of Contents
(Continued)

Page

PART THREE: RESPONSES FROM URBAN SCHOOLS 191

A DALLAS STORY. 192
Nolan Estes

Panorama of the Present 193
Perspective on Renewal. 196
Profile of a Response 197
References. 204

A BUFFALO STORY 205
Eugene T. Reville

Desegregation Plan: Phase I. 210
Desegregation Plan: Phase II 211
Description of the Magnet Schools 214

A ST. LOUIS STORY: MAGNET SCHOOLS--A MEANS TO AN END 237
Robert Wentz

Prototypes to Contemporary Magnet Schools 238
The Consent Judgment and Decree 240
Process and Problems. 243
The Magnet Schools. 248
Evaluation Findings: 1976-77 254
Perceptions, Reactions, and Realities 257

A DENVER STORY. 260
James H. Daniels

AN OAKLAND STORY. 273
Rosemma B. Wallace

List of Figures

Figure | Page
1 Selected statistics on public elementary and secondary schools in 20 large cities compared with the United States totals: 1974-75 47

2 Ethnic distribution of enrollment K-12, 1972-73 48

3 Percent enrolled in school, by level, by sex and age: 1976 . 50

4 Handicapped children, by type: 1974-75 52

5 G. Zaltman and R. Duncan, Strategies for planned change. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1977, 61. 79

6 Strategies for multicultural inservice teacher education. . . 84

8

Abstract

The proceedings of the 1978 Conference for Urban Educators, sponsored by the Wisconsin Research and Development Center, approach urban education from three different perspectives. In the first section are papers which describe basic issues in urban education: financial problems, legal mandates, cultural diversity, and desegregation. Papers in the second section examine the implications of these issues for instructional programming, teacher inservice, and citizen advocacy. In the last section educators describe successful programs used in urban schools. Included are the East Oak Cliff Subdistrict in Dallas, magnet schools in Buffalo and St. Louis, improvement of basic skills in Denver, and reorganization to improve student achievement in Oakland.

9

Introduction

Until 1976 the school improvement efforts of the Wisconsin Research and Development Center focused mainly on the implementation of Individually Guided Education in schools. Although almost 2,000 IGE schools were in existence at that time, few were in urban districts. At that time the implementation staff decided to become more involved in urban school improvement.

During 1977 administrative personnel from selected urban school districts were invited to Madison for an urban conference concerning the role that IGE might play in improving urban schools. This conference led to a joint school improvement venture between the Center and two major urban districts.

The experiences of the Center and the needs of many school districts made it appropriate to focus the second urban conference upon issues affecting improvement efforts in urban schools and the responses of the educational community to these issues. The following papers were written for presentation at that conference, the 1978 Conference for Urban Educators.

The conference proceedings are presented in three parts. Part One describes the basic issues confronting urban education, and Part Two offers perspectives on the issues by educators in varying roles. Finally, Part Three records the responses of some urban school districts to these issues. The contributors were asked to speak in a forthright and personal manner. While their views are, of course, their own, together they clearly illustrate the issues and the perspectives and responses of educators to the dilemmas and challenges facing the large urban centers of America.

PART ONE:

ISSUES IN URBAN EDUCATION

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FINANCING URBAN SCHOOLS

Richard A. Rossmiller

"...neither prices of inputs nor educational needs are everywhere the same, and nowhere is this better evidenced than in the schools that serve our large cities."

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Richard A. Rossmiller begins the Proceedings of the Conference by identifying and clarifying the financial problems besetting urban school systems. Dr. Rossmiller, Professor of Educational Administration at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and co-director of the Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Individualized Schooling, documents several causes of this financial malaise. Among these are higher expenditures per pupil required to provide comparable educational services in urban schools, higher costs of doing business in large cities, and difficulties in securing revenue. Financial survival of urban schools will require adaptation to changing urban conditions. Schools need financing which is both reasonably equitable to taxpayers and distributes funds to provide reasonably equal educational opportunity for students.

Urban school finance has moved to center stage recently after many years spent in the wings. A generation ago it was assumed that large city school districts had no financial problems. Many urban schools were identified as "lighthouse schools" in which the latest in educational practice could be expected. Urban school districts were able to attract well qualified teachers because of their high salary schedules, working conditions, and reputation for excellence.

Today, however, the situation has changed and large city school systems are confronted with severe fiscal problems. Social, demographic, and economic changes during the past 30 years have produced unprecedented problems in the schools of urban America. At the same time, political forces, especially at the state level, have not been particularly sympathetic to the problems of urban areas.

Some Problems in Urban School Finance

Several problems that have contributed to the present financial difficulties of urban schools can easily be identified. Among them are the higher expenditures per pupil required to provide educational services in urban schools commensurate with those provided elsewhere, demands that noneducational services be provided through the schools, the higher cost of doing business in large cities, difficulties in securing revenue, and the unwillingness of political leaders to deal with educational and public service problems confronting large cities.

Higher Cost Pupils

"Equality of educational opportunity" must rank among the most widely used but least understood phrases in the English language. Although numerous definitions of equal educational opportunity have been set forth,[1] equality in expenditure per pupil is often advocated as the best measure. As Braser has noted,

> If prices for inputs of various qualities were the same everywhere and if educational 'needs,' however defined, were everywhere equal, then the obvious route to equalization of educational inputs per child would be through the assurance of equal availability of dollars. (Braser, 1974, p. 90)

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[1] See, for example, R. Berne and L. Stiefel, Methodological assessment of education equality and wealth neutrality measures. (Available from Finance Center, Education Commission of the States, Denver, CO 80295.)

But neither prices of inputs nor educational needs are everywhere the same, and nowhere is this more obvious than in the schools serving our large cities.

Schools in large cities enroll a disproportionately high percentage of students with exceptional educational needs. Their needs can be met only by providing programs that are more costly on a per pupil basis than are programs provided for nonexceptional children in regular programs. In 1968, for example, the six largest cities in New York State, with 40% of the state's pupils, had 54% of the state's handicapped, 73% of the state's "poverty family" pupils, 83% of the state's pupils receiving Aid to Dependent Children, 86% of the state's nonwhite pupils, and 90% of the state's fulltime vocational pupils (Drachler, 1973, p. 34).

Research sponsored by the National Educational Finance Project has clearly demonstrated the higher cost of educating pupils with exceptional educational needs (Rossmiller, Hale, & Frohreich, 1970). Compared to the cost of regular education programs, it was found that programs for handicapped children average nearly twice as much per pupil. It appears that the cost of educating handicapped children in large cities is even greater. A recent study showed that the average cost of educating a handicapped pupil in New York City was $5,897 per year compared to the average expenditure for a nonhandicapped pupil of $2,294 (Marriner, 1977, p. 86). Similar data for Detroit revealed comparable differences. Vocational and career education programs also have been shown to carry a higher price tag than regular school programs and such specialized programs tend to be more prevalent in large urban school systems.

The situation with regard to education of socially or economically disadvantaged children is similar. The higher concentration of such children in urban schools has been documented frequently and need not be repeated here. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act sought to improve the education of disadvantaged children by providing additional funding for programs designed specifically for this target population.

There is ample evidence that educational needs, however defined, are greater in our large city schools. Given this situation, it is clear that achieving equal expenditures per pupil will not result in equality of educational opportunity for all children.

Higher Non-instructional Costs

Urban schools are also frequently confronted with a need to spend more for services not directly related to instruction. For example, increases in vandalism and theft have hit urban school budgets particularly hard. Drachler reported that vandalism and theft in Detroit schools resulted in losses of nearly $1 million per year between 1967 and 1970 (1973, p. 17). The cost of additional personnel, intruder alarm systems, and the like to protect school property diverts funds from instructional programs.

Not only has loss from vandalism and theft posed major problems; the cost of providing for the personal safety of students and faculty members has escalated. The annual cost of security services in large urban school systems such as New York City and Los Angeles totals several million dollars each year.

The relatively mobile character of the urban population poses another set of problems. Many urban families change their residence at least once during the course of a school year and it is common for 25% or more of the student population to move from one school to another between the beginning and end of the year. Consequently, urban school districts must spend more money for attendance services than their suburban and rural counterparts.

Higher Prices for Similar Services

Not only do urban schools have unique problems which require higher expenditures than other schools, but city schools have a higher cost of doing business (Gifford, 1978). The cost of providing even similar services is higher in the city than in the suburbs or rural areas. The cost of school sites is much higher in densely populated urban areas, as is the cost of operating and maintaining existing schools. Many urban school buildings are relatively old and require higher maintenance expenditures. Furthermore, wage scales for operation and maintenance personnel typically are higher in urban areas than in rural and suburban areas.

The salaries of classroom teachers, counselors, and other personnel also tend to be higher in urban areas. School personnel usually are compensated on the basis of years of experience and level of preparation. Teachers in urban schools tend to be among the more experienced and more highly educated teachers in a state. This trend has been exacerbated by declining enrollments and work force reductions in which seniority is one of the prime factors in determining which members of the teaching staff will be laid off. Usually the highest paid staff members are retained the longest.

Problems of Raising Revenue

At first glance it appears that urban school systems are in an advantageous position for raising revenue. By nearly any measure, cities tend to have higher concentrations of wealth, especially as measured by property value, than other areas (Garms, Guthrie, & Pierce, 1978, pp. 403-405; Gifford, 1978). A study of Callahan, Wilken, and Sillermann, for example, found that the per pupil property values in 34 major cities exceeded the average for their respective states by 26% (1973, p. 12). The relative advantage of the cities decreases, however, when city property values are expressed on a per capita basis. City schools tend to enroll a smaller percentage of their total population than do suburban and rural schools. At least two reasons for this situation may be identified--a larger number of households without children and higher nonpublic school enrollments in the cities.

When income is used as a criterion of ability to support schools, a similar pattern emerges. Reischauer and Hartman found that 9 of the 14 large cities they examined had higher per pupil personal income than did surrounding areas (1973, p. 68). When they compared personal income on a per capita basis, however, none of the cities exceeded its suburban neighbors in personal income per capita. Whether measuring by property value or income, it appears that the ability of cities to generate revenue for school support is at least as great as that of most other areas.

The tax effort for support of education exerted by large cities does not seem greater than that of their suburban and rural neighbors. In fact, some evidence suggests that city school districts tax themselves at lower than average rates for educational purposes. One study revealed that in 1968-69, the central cities had lower measures of tax effort for education than did suburban, rural, and small city districts, as well as the states taken as a whole (Callahan, Wilken, & Sillermann, 1973, p. 30).

In the large cities, however, a broader and more costly array of public services (police and fire protection, refuse collection, sewage disposal, health services, etc.) must be supported from the same tax base. This set of services is often referred to as "municipal overburden," and it is argued that straightforward comparisons of tax rates disguise significant differences between the public service needs of the cities and other areas. City advocates also argue that they provide many services that also benefit residents of the area surrounding the cities, for example, museums, zoos, airports, and the like.

Thus, while the evidence indicates that cities do spend more for municipal services of all kinds, it is not clear that they are disadvantaged in terms of raising revenue. The "municipal overburden" argument is not universally accepted, for it is not clear how to distinguish "municipal overburden" from a community's greater taste for public goods and services.

Meeting the Fiscal Needs of Urban Schools

Planning to meet the fiscal needs of urban schools requires not only data on present conditions but awareness of emerging trends and their implications. Demographic trends are of particular significance, for a rise in the birth rate translates rather quickly into a new set of educational needs. With a large percentage of the total population now concentrated in child-bearing ages, a small change in birth rates could soon produce a sizeable influx of students. Consequently, school fiscal planners must watch such trends very carefully and include their fiscal implications in planning.

A second trend is the predictable large increase in energy costs in future years. As the cost of commuting increases, suburban and country living may become less attractive. This could result in a movement of people back to the central cities where additional educational facilities would be required, thus creating a new set of fiscal demands. The success of recently opened mid-city shopping centers may indicate that a trend back to city living may not be a far-fetched prediction.

One crucial task in dealing with the fiscal problems of urban education is that of breaking the link between raising revenue and spending revenue. Nearly all contemporary approaches to financing education attempt to solve two problems simultaneously: providing equity to taxpayers in the raising of revenue for education while providing equity in the educational opportunities provided for students. It is generally assumed, either explicitly or implicitly, that the provision of equal revenues per pupil will provide equal educational opportunities. In fact, expenditures for similar educational programs will differ for valid and defensible reasons. Variations among school districts in the cost of living and doing business alone are sufficient to invalidate the assumption of equality, and there is abundant data establishing that educational programs for handicapped and disadvantaged students are more expensive than programs for other students. We must distinguish the problem of supporting education by raising revenue in a manner reasonably equitable to taxpayers from the problem of distributing funds in a manner which provides reasonable equality of educational opportunity to students.

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LEGAL ISSUES IN URBAN EDUCATION

Virginia Davis Nordin

"The overwhelming legal issue in urban education today is equal opportunity. Administrators seem to be looking down the throat of the 14th Amendment and are about to be either swallowed up whole or spewed out piecemeal."

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In this paper, Virginia Davis Nordin, Professor of Educational Administration at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and member of the New York, California, and Wisconsin Bar Associations, identifies the major legal issues confronting urban education today. In her opinion the most overwhelming of these is providing equal opportunity as demanded by the 14th Amendment. This basic issue includes not only safeguarding of students' and teachers' rights to due process but particularly providing access and opportunity to females, minority group members, and handicapped children. Professor Nordin untangles the web of Supreme Court decisions, state court decisions, and federal regulations in matters of finance, teachers' rights, sick leave for pregnancy, students' rights, desegregation, and athletics for girls. She concludes by challenging urban educators to take advantage of the opportunities to reform and redirect education provided by the courts in their recent decisions.

Basic Issues

The overwhelming legal issue in urban education today is equal opportunity. Administrators seem to be looking down the throat of the 14th Amendment and are about to be either swallowed up whole or spewed out piecemeal. Issues confronting them include:

1. Equal access of racial groups to quality education, including the sometimes contradictory bilinqual, bicultural programs.

2. Students' rights to due process, including monetary damages for denial of rights. This remedy has not been universally reduced to $1.00.

3. Teachers' rights to due process, academic freedom, collective bargaining, and promotion to administrative positions.

4. Equal opportunity for those needing special education attention.

5. Equal opportunity for females, including those in interscholastic athletics.

6. Equal opportunity to share in the public's education dollar.

In today's context, legal issues and applications of the law apply to almost every issue facing the urban educator. It is interesting to note that practically every paper presented at this conference discusses some aspect of the law.

Urban school districts today must respond to a number of different legal directives in the areas of student rights, teacher rights, bicultural and bilingual programs, and, of course, desegregation. Urban administrators may argue that the law sets requirements and then hampers their implementation. For example, the law requires effective desegregation by court decision and then prevents, through collective bargaining rules, the hiring of teachers able to cope with the demands of desegregation. Perhaps that criticism is justified if, as the Christian Science Monitor (April 10, 1978) reports, the most important ingredient for effective urban teaching is a sense of caring. Nevertheless, the arguments of these administrators should be used as a positive tool rather than an impediment to equal opportunity.

The law comes in different ways: Supreme Court decisions, federal funding legislation with its many regulatory strings, federal administrative regulations, state court decisions, state administrative regulations, and state legislation. Often, however, urban educators concerned with desegregation and equal opportunity, think first of the Supreme Court.

Financing

Although the Supreme Court failed to find a fundamental right to an education under the United States Constitution and consequently failed to require complete state equalization of school financing, nonetheless the issue can still be raised in the state courts. Unlike the federal Constitution, most state constitutions do mention education and most contain clauses which can support a state court requirement of equal funding.

Teachers' Rights

Non-discrimination in employment and racially integrated faculties continue to be required by the court. Anti-sex discrimination measures are important as well. For example, the Justice Department has sued Fresno School District in a class action for failure to promote women to administrative positions, since there are no women administrators in the district even though there are a number of women with graduate degrees who are certified as administrators.

Sick Leave for Pregnancy

While the Supreme Court decisions still fail to find any connection between sex and pregnancy, at least for the purposes of requiring insurance coverage for pregnancy disability (G.E. v. Gilbert; Nashville v. Satty; Richmon School District v. Berg), some courts do make that connection under state legislation. Thus, here in Wisconsin the courts have recently ruled that the state statute similar to Title VII of the Civil

Rights Act of 1964, will be construed to require coverage of pregnancy in disability insurance programs. Further, Congress has now amended Title VII to specifically cover pregnancy.

Students' Rights

In the area of students' rights, the Supreme Court again seems to have drawn back a bit from its earlier stance. In Goss v. Lopez, the Supreme Court established strong due process protections for students suspended from school, and, in Wood v. Strickland, ruled that school officials could be liable in damages for infringing upon a student's civil rights, including the right to due process. However, the Court's most recent pronouncement in this area, Carey v. Piphus, ruled that damages under Wood v. Strickland may be limited to only $1.00 if the student is in fact guilty of the infraction charged.

Carey v. Piphus was the result of a Chicago case involving two students, each suspended for three weeks without a hearing. One student was suspended for smoking a cigarette claimed to be marijuana (he claimed it was tobacco), and the other for wearing a single gold earring. The principal stated the earring was evidence of gang membership; the student said it was evidence of Black pride. The Supreme Court said that students who were guilty of these infractions were not really damaged by a failure to have due process, but that the case should be remanded to the trial court level to determine whether the students were in fact guilty. If they were innocent, a possibility of damage recovery still remained. Therefore, although the case limits the scope of Wood v. Strickland to some extent, it does not in any manner destroy the possibility of obtaining monetary damages for civil rights infractions. Further, HEW's Office for Civil Rights has announced that it is preparing two memos scheduled to go to school districts by August of 1978, which will outline responsibilities in the areas of civil rights and school discipline and set out the minimum records which schools must keep on student discipline. It is expected that the memo will spell out minimum requirements districts must follow to comply with Goss v. Lopez.

Desegregation

Setting aside the tremendous interaction with legislative and administrative regulations the government requires of urban education systems, I believe it is fair to say that the remaining legal issues still center around desegregation problems. Obviously, the entire conduct of urban education has been changed drastically in the nearly 25 years since Brown v. The Board of Education. Although desegregation decisions first reached only those school systems which were segregated by state law, they soon reached "de facto" districts which were found to be segregated by the effect of state law rather than by direct statutory mandate. Since the Charlotte - Mecklenburg decision authorized busing as a legal solution to school segregation and the Keyes decision in Denver addressed the more sophisticated evidences of segregation in northern school districts, almost every major urban school district has been subject to some form of desegregation suit.

There has been some indication in recent times that the Supreme Court is taking a more conservative stance in its opinions about school segregation. The first case that indicated this direction was Bradley v. Milliken, the Detroit decision which held that interdistrict busing was not necessary to carry out the Constitutional requirements of desegregation. Bradley v. Milliken foreshadowed later civil rights cases by resting its holding on the fact that there was no legislative intent to segregate at the time the original school districts were established many years ago. The Supreme Court left open the possibility that where interdistrict lines were drawn with an intent to segregate, violation might occur. In Indianapolis, for example, there had been evidence of an actual intent to segregate schools since municipal functions were consolidated on a tri-county basis for all city services except the tri-county school districts. Then, in 1976, the Supreme Court decided the Dayton, Ohio, case. In that case, the Supreme Court said that a district-wide remedy might be too broad if it was beyond the scope of the original proof of unconstitutional discrimination. The court sent the case back to determine whether the remedy in the Dayton case was overly broad in view of the specifics of the original finding of violation. Later, in June 1977, the Supreme Court sent both the Milwaukee and Omaha cases back to the lower courts for reconsideration in light of the Dayton case and the Arlington Heights housing discrimination case. In Arlington Heights, the Supreme Court, relying on its earlier decision in Washington v. Davis regarding police personnel decisions in Washington, D.C., had ruled that it is necessary to show an intent to discriminate by a government agency in order to declare an action unconstitutional. This was a change from previous rulings which held that a segregative effect alone is proof of a discriminatory intent.

In reassessing the Omaha school desegregation plan as directed by the Supreme Court, the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals simply looked at the opinion written earlier by the district court and decided that there had been a sufficient finding of intent to discriminate to justify the ultimate desegregation plan. The appellate court thus merely reaffirmed its earlier decision. However, the Seventh Circuit Court, in a one-page opinion, sent back the Milwaukee case to the district court for an entire retrial of the merits of the case, and cancelled all previous plans and findings including the appointment of the Special Master and all actions taken by him. This decision nullified months of work by educators, attorneys, and other citizens.

To assess this turn of events, we must look to previous actions taken in this case. On January 19, 1976, Chief Judge Reynolds of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Wisconsin had made a finding of intentional segregation of the Milwaukee School System and appointed a Special Master for the purpose of drawing up a desegregation plan. At the same time, Judge Reynolds allowed an immediate appeal on the issue of a finding of a violation of constitutional requirements for equal educational opportunity. Subsequently, on appeal, the Seventh Circuit affirmed the finding of a violation of constitutional standards. Further, the Special Master, with the help of the community and the school board, drew up a desegregation plan, which was not, however, reviewed by the Seventh Circuit. The case was appealed to the United States Supreme Court, which, on June 28, 1978, entered a per curiam opinion granting certiorari and remanding the case back to the Court of Appeals for reconsideration in the light of the two cases, the Village of Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Development Corporation and Dayton Board of Education v. Brinkman, mentioned above.

The holding in Arlington Heights, which the Supreme Court wished the Seventh Circuit to take into account in re-evaluating the Milwaukee Schools case, was that the existence of segregation alone does not indicate a constitutional violation unless there is evidence of an intent to discriminate. The Arlington Heights case is in turn based on a case called Washington v. Davis in which the Supreme Court held that the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia erred in applying Title VII standards to a constitutional problem. Under the Title VII disparate effect doctrine, the fact that an employment test has a different effect upon Black or minority people and Whites is enough to prove prima facie case of discrimination. However, the Supreme Court said in Washington v. Davis that although that was true under the Civil Rights statute, the disparate effect test was not to be used when a challenge was brought directly under the Fourteenth Amendment. The standard under the Constitution is that a segregative or disparate effect may be some evidence of unconstitutional discrimination, but standing by itself, it is not alone sufficient to prove discrimination. In the Arlington Heights case, the Supreme Court mentioned several different ways in which a segregative intent might be established.

The court also noted that Washington v. Davis did not require proof that a legislative or administrative body make a decision solely on the basis of racial discrimination, but only that "a discriminatory purpose has been a motivating factor in the decision." The Court mentions the official action as an important starting point and lists several independent factors which may establish intent: "a clear pattern unexplainable on grounds other than race . . . even when the governing legislation appears neutral on its face"; "the historical background of the decision, particularly if it reveals a series of official actions taken for invidious purposes"; "the specific sequence of events leading up the challenge decision"; "departures from the normal procedural sequence"; "legislative or administrative history"; and "occasionally the testimony of members of the deciding board." The Supreme Court stated that this list identifies but does not exhaust subjects of proper inquiry in determining whether racially discriminatory intent existed.

The other case which the Supreme Court asked the Seventh Circuit to take into account was the Dayton case, which held that the scope of the remedy must be in direct relation to the scope of the intent to discriminate. In Dayton, there was some evidence that there were two particular zones of choice which caused the greatest racial discrimination, and it was implied that the remedy should be limited to those two zones, although the case was remanded for further consideration and has not been finally determined. The Supreme Court also criticized strongly the district court's use of "cumulative evidence" of discrimination, stating that there must be a clearer standard for establishing a violation of the Constitution.

Subsequent to the Supreme Court decision the Milwaukee School Board petitioned the Seventh Circuit to ask that it not be necessary to make last minute adjustments in September school assignments to meet the terms of the district court's original requirement that 102 schools (or 2/3 of all Milwaukee schools) achieve a 25% to 50% black population by September 30, 1977. In desegregation efforts, it usually becomes obvious in September that the assignments made in June do not fall neatly into place because people change their plans and enrollments are different than those originally anticipated. Thus, it is often necessary to make immediate adjustments once the actual registration occurs in September.

When the Milwaukee School Board petitioned the Seventh Circuit asking that they be relieved of the obligation to make the September adjustment, the Seventh Circuit denied that request, but at the same time vacated the district court's finding of constitutional violations and vacated the desegregation order, citing the Supreme Court opinion. This essentially left the Milwaukee school district back in the situation of fall 1975 through mid-January 1976--the case had been completed, the brief submitted, and both sides were waiting for the decision of the court. Since the Seventh Circuit Order vacating the violation and remedy orders of the district court was rather cryptic, as was the per curiam opinion of the Supreme Court, it is difficult to tell on which grounds the lower court was reversed. In any event, it left the Milwaukee Schools in a state of great flux as far as the legal requirements for desegregation were concerned and there was no alternative but to begin again with some guidance from the Dayton case. In Dayton, the Supreme Court specifically said that although it was remanding the case, the desegregation plan which had been peacefully in effect for a year was to continue until the district court made a second decision. However, in the Dayton case, that plan had been working for a year, while in Milwaukee the plan was yet to be put into effect.

It is difficult to know what the appellate courts found inadequate in the district court opinion. There, Judge Reynolds found a clear segregative intent, but not a clear discriminatory intent. A quick reading of prior Supreme Court cases does not make it clear whether the Supreme Court has distinguished between these two concepts. What Judge Reynolds found was that the school board intentionally maintained the neighborhood school concept knowing that it would create segregated schools in Milwaukee, although there was no intent to discriminate against Black students in the sense of wishing to treat them unfairly. He discovered that the school board consciously adopted the educational policy that neighborhood and segregated schools might present better quality education to both races than an integrated system. He found that they had taken no actions whatsoever in the prior 10 years which had an integrative effect, and he found that Brown v. Board of Education was the law of the land: that the races can not be separated in education. Judge Reynolds said that the Constitution does not guarantee quality education, which is what the school board said they were striving for, but rather an equal education and he said further that although desegregation may not be the right step, it was the law of the land and should be put into effect. Obviously, the Supreme Court has changed the rules to some degree but in what manner is not yet entirely clear.

It is particularly interesting that the Supreme Court opinion is a _per curiam_ opinion. A _per curiam_ opinion is a very short opinion rendered by the court and not in any particular judge's name, indicating a rather cursory consideration of the case. It is very unusual to have a dissent to a _per curiam_ opinion, but here there is a dissent by Justices Stevens, Brennan, and Marshall, who state that they believe the Milwaukee decision is a misuse of the Supreme Court's summary disposition power. They believe the Court should have given greater consideration to the case and should have written a complete opinion rather than sending the case back with relatively little consideration for additional lengthy court action in the lower courts. In fact, the dissent says, "this Court, that is, the Supreme Court's hasty action will unfortunately lead to unnecessary work by already overburdened Circuit Judges who have given this case far more study than this court had time to give." The dissent also says it is improper to give instructions to make a decision in line with the Dayton case, since it is a "remedies" or plan case, and the Seventh Circuit

Court of Appeals did not have the Milwaukee desegregation plan before it, but only the interim appeal on whether there was, in fact, a violation of Constitutional standards.

Recent cases might indicate to some that the Supreme Court is not as interested as it once was in enforcing desegregation in urban schools. However, a review of the cases which the court decided not to hear during the 1977-78 term seems to indicate that at least the court is not going out of its way to avoid desegregation decisions. In the Lansing, Michigan, case (Board of Education v. NAACP), the Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal from the Sixth Circuit, ruling there had been a proper finding that gerrymandering of attendance zones, granting special transfers for White students, ordering one-way busing for minority students, and maintaining relatively inferior facilities for minority students, was evidence for the requisite segregative effect for finding purposeful de jure segregation in elementary schools. The Sixth Circuit also upheld an injunction against the district to prevent them from rescinding a cluster school plan since rescinding would have the effect of resegregating the district. In Columbus, Mississippi, Municipal Separate School District v. The United States, the Supreme Court refused to review a decision by the Fifth Circuit that the district court properly imposed a desegregation plan requiring a school district to pair three sets of elementary schools as a means of eliminating unconstitutional system-wide segregation. The Circuit Court also held that the trial court had reasonably rejected the neighborhood assignment plan which would have achieved less desegregation than the plan in force. Very importantly, the Supreme Court refused to review several cases stemming from the Delaware desegregation plan, which included interdistrict busing and an interim, court-created school board to run the consolidated, combined school districts until the state legislature could take appropriate action.

Finally, in the area of teachers' rights under desegregation plans, the Supreme Court refused to review a decision by the Fifth Circuit which overturned a trial court determination that there was no intentional racial discrimination when the school board failed to renew the teaching contracts of 17 Black teachers and applied different criteria in rehiring evaluations for teachers of different races. The Fifth Circuit also held that the teachers should have been able to file Section 1981 suits and receive back pay and attorneys' fees.

Yet, as this paper is being written, the Dayton case is again pending before the Supreme Court, along with a companion case from Cleveland, Ohio, and there is some expectation that the Supreme Court may take major new steps toward limiting desegregation requirements in its decisions.

Athletics for Girls

It may be that the "busing issue" of the sex discrimination movement is equal access to sports opportunities for females. This includes equal pay for coaches and more budget or equal budget for female athletic competition.

Although federal court decisions, state court decisions, and Title IX regulations are raining down upon us, the Supreme Court has not yet spoken on this issue. The emergence of a fairly distinct "separate but equal" doctrine in the field of women's athletic rights (refer to the Vorchheimer case on sex separate high schools) is an interesting one, because many civil rights analysts had assumed that "separate but equal" had been laid to rest forever in Brown v. Board of Education. It would appear, however, that "separate but equal" solutions in terms of sex groupings still have some legal validity.

The argument made by some feminists is that if women are never given the opportunity for strenuous competition, they will never fully develop their athletic capacities. At present, most females could probably develop their fullest capacities on a high level all-female team, but there remain a few in each sport and every community who can realize their fullest potential only by participating at the very highest level, which generally means with male teams. As Judge Rubin in Ohio put it, "Babe Didrikson could have made anybody's team" (Yellow Springs Exempted School District v. O.H.S.A.A. - Fed. Supp -SD Ohio, 1978). Mr. Bucha, who brought a suit in Illinois, did not care much for the larger issues of women's rights, but only wanted the fullest opportunity for his daughter, who he felt had Olympic potential which she could not develop without high level competition. Unfortunately, the Buchas lost in an Illinois federal court which ruled that separate is equal in sports competition. Building on the conclusions in Bucha, a Colorado federal court in Hoover v. Meikeljohn, 430 F.Supp 172, set out three options which would fulfill constitutional requirements. The first possibility would be to drop all varsity interscholastic competition, thus granting nonaccess to everyone equally. Second, separate girls' teams could be established for contact sports, or finally, teams could be made coeducational if there were no separate girls' teams.

In a Wisconsin case, *Leffel (Kelly) v. WIAA*, the court picked up on the Hoover case standards, noting that the public schools are under no Constitutional compulsion to provide interscholastic competition in any sport, but once they choose to do so, this educational opportunity must be provided to all on equal terms, citing *Brown v. The Board of Education*. However, the Wisconsin court modified the "comparability" standards of the Hoover case, stating that "a denial of equal protection exists only where members of the plaintiff class request and are denied the opportunity to participate in a particular varsity interscholastic sport." This is definitely a more lenient standard than that found under Title IX which requires encouragement of female participation, not just passive response. Judge Gordon also declined to find a Constitutional requirement for equal levels of competition (no requirement that the extraordinarily talented girl be allowed to try out for the boys' team) because the Wisconsin plaintiffs had not alleged an intent to discriminate by imposing different levels of competition as now required by *Washington v. Davis*, *supra*. However, in the Yellow Springs, Ohio case, which was decided almost simultaneously, the Ohio district court found essentially that separate but equal is not always equal and adopted the impermissable irrebutable presumption analysis recently favored by the Supreme Court in a number of cases (see Cleveland v. LaFleur). The problem, as the Ohio court saw it, was that a girl had no opportunity to prove her individual merit under the separate but equal rule and, therefore, the court required unconditional access by girls to all sports. Recognizing the great importance of the issues in the case, the court concluded its opinions with these remarks:

> The foregoing is intended to set forth the precedential underpinnings of this court's ruling. It is addressed to those who will scrutinize the legal reasoning of this opinion. However, it is not only legal scholars, commentators, and appellate courts who might have occasion to review this matter. There are many who may also be affected who are not trained in the law and who likewise seek an explanation.
>
> It has always been traditional that boys play football and girls are cheerleaders. Who said so? Where is it written that girls may not, if suitably qualified, play football? There may be a multitude of reasons why a girl might elect not to do so. Reasons of stature or weight or reasons of temperament, motivation or interest. This is a matter of personal choice. But a prohibition without exception based upon sex is not. It is this that is both unfair and contrary to personal rights contemplated in the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

> It may well be that there is a student today in an Ohio High School who lacks only the proper coaching and training to become the greatest quarterback in professional football history. Of course the odds are astronomical against her, but isn't she entitled to a fair chance to try? Yellow Springs Exempted School Dist. v. Ohio.

An additional interesting issue raised in the Wisconsin case by the defendant athletic association is whether the passage of Title IX preempts the field or whether cases can still be brought under the Fourteenth Amendment and Section 1983. (The WIAA had amended their rule to refer to compliance with federal law as determined by the WIAA Board of Control and claimed that they were thereby in compliance with Title IX which preempted all other federal law.) This ingenious contention was found to be without merit by the court which reminded the defendant that even congressional statutes cannot preempt the Constitution, and allowed the plaintiff to proceed under the Fourteenth Amendment (citing Cannon v. University of Chicago).

As mentioned above, there are also some state court cases which affirm the rights of girls to participate in athletic programs. However, it is important to note the leading cases in this area have been brought in states which have passed state equal rights amendments. Thus, the applicability of these cases is really limited to those states themselves.

Pennsylvania has passed a constitutional article reading that "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania because of the sex of the individual." There, the courts have handed down what is probably the strongest case for the individual rights of the female athlete in Commonwealth Packet v. Pennsylvania Interscholastic Athletic Association, 334 AT.2d 839 (Pa. CMWLTH 1975). The state itself brought suit challenging the Athletic Association rule that girls should not compete or practice against boys in any athletic contest. The court based its decision entirely upon the State ERA and did not consider the federal constitutional questions. The decision is a strong one because it does not attempt to balance the various problems raised, such as administrating athletic programs which may even be attempting to provide equal opportunity. The decision is based solely on establishing the rights of the individual. In this, the court specifically does not distinguish between contact and noncontact sports, going beyond even the request of the plaintiff which had allowed the exception of football and wrestling. The court further ruled that arguments about the possibility of injury could be met by rules relating to injury and weaker individuals which did not need to be based on a sex classification. The court agreed with the Athletic Association that there was no fundamental right under the state constitution to participate in interscholastic sports, but ruled that once the opportunity to compete is provided, it must be provided to all without regard to sex under the requirements of the constitution. The court also rejected the Association's argument that girls would have greater opportunities for athletic participation if they competed exclusively with members of their own sex. The court found that argument to be invalid because (a) it was applied to all sports, even those for which there was no girls' team, and (b) even where there was double team opportunity, the most talented females were unable to play at the highest level of competition which their ability would allow.

In the state of Washington a case arose under the Washington ERA, which states "Equality of rights and responsibility under the law shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex," Article 31, Section 1 (1972). In Darron v. Gould, 540 P.2d 882 (Wash. 1975), the Washington Supreme Court construed the state ERA to mandate participation of girls in contact sports but approached the question somewhat differently. The case was brought by two sisters whose high school was willing to allow them to play football but who could not play because of the state athletic association rules. The Supreme Court ruled that the girls could not be excluded. The decision, although ultimately based on the Washington ERA, also contained the implication that girls have a right to play football under the Fourteenth Amendment Equal Protection Clause. It is interesting to note that on the subject of strict scrutiny or related tests regarding the legitimacy of classification by sex, the Washington Supreme Court rejected all rules or rationales allowing any classifications whatsoever. The words "Shall not," in the constitutional provision, said the court, mean an absolute prohibition allowing no classifications based on sex, even those based on compelling state interests.

The Washington court's consideration of the problems of dual teams is somewhat more extensive than in the Pennsylvania case. The court considered the same athletic association argument that equal opportunity for girls means sex-segregated teams. The court's rejection was based first on the finding that such assertion was conjectural and insufficient to validate sex discrimination, but stated further that there was probably no evidence which could be introduced to justify sex-segregated activities in light of the state constitutional amendment. (A contrary view of the absolute nature of prohibition of sex discrimination by a state constitutional amendment may be found in Mercer v. The Board of Trustees, North Forest Independent School District, 538 S.W.2d 201 [Tex. Civ. App. 1976], in which a Texas court specifically disagreed with the Supreme Court of Washington that ERA admits no exceptions to its prohibition of sex discrimination. The Mercer case concerns a male who challenged unconstitutional sex discrimination in a school hair-length rule which applied only to males.)

It is interesting that several of the athletic cases seem based on the emerging theory of sex-role transcendence or androgyny. Brenden v. Independent School District provides a good example, as does the Yellow Springs case, although the later case is less explicit. In Brenden, the court was supplied with a multitude of evidence regarding sex-based physical, physiological, and psychological differences and similarities. The court pointed out the irrelevance of that evidence by holding that group-based data have no bearing on the equal protection question of whether an individual girl should have the opportunity to try out for boys' teams. The aggregate data gave no indication of the physical condition or skills of any individual. Only by demonstrating their qualifications can it be decided whether particular boys or girls possess the desired skills. Each individual must be assessed on his or her own merits. Individuals should not be excluded because of presumed, or even known, sex-based differences, said the court. In contrast, another federal court referred to the same evidence to justify its decision against integration of sports teams: Ritacco v. Norwin School District, 361 F.Supp. 930 (W.D.Pa. 1973).

The area of athletics represents a good illustration of conflicting notions of equal opportunity. One approach suggests providing separate and equal programs, with resounding emphasis on the equality of the programs (equal funding, facilities, coaching staffs, travel, competitive opportunities, etc.). A second approach is to integrate boys' teams to allow the best athletes (boys or girls) to compete against persons of equal skills; an adjunct to this view is to provide a separate girls' team or two additional sex-segregated teams. A third suggestion is to have two teams--one for boys and one for girls--and allow boys or girls to try out for either team. This alternative is generally disfavored by women because it might degenerate into two teams dominated by boys.

Several cases have held that where separate teams are provided, integration would not be ordered. Where integration has been ordered, it was because no separate teams were available (for example, Haas v. South Bend Community School Corp, Seld v. State Board of Education of New Jersey, and Gilpin v. Kansas State High School Activities Ass'n.

For contrary decisions, see Hollander v. Connecticut Interscholastic Athletic Ass'n.; Inc., Gregorio v. Board of Education, and Darrin v. Gould.).

The general point that has been emphasized by several courts is true to all governmental programs: Even though the schools have no obligation to provide athletic activities, where they are offered, they must be made available to all on an equal basis.

Summary

The legal issues found in today's urban school districts call for imaginative solutions, which should be discovered by educators and not mandated by the courts. Educators must understand that the court system is not an enemy but a way to solve society's conflicts without armed warfare. The requirement for educational equal opportunity for every child is nothing more than legally mandated IGE. Schools share responsibility for educating the community about the necessities of the law, and children should be taught about legal process and legal responsibilities as well as rights. For students of education, schools should offer more courses and seminars in legal history and process.

In the past the schools, like the courts, have been a conservative force. In times of trouble the courts became a safety valve for social pressures. Now they have shifted some responsibility to the schools. There is no denying the problems--truancy, drugs, crime--that may stem from the uncontrollable factor of unemployment. But the schools must make more efforts to move in new directions, to prepare children for roles in changing times, and to motivate them to believe that their minds are important and that there are better times and better changes ahead. I sincerely believe that the teaching of legal history and the legal process is an important step toward these goals. Educators might understand better how education can help bring about the nation's goal of full social equality if they understood the reasons behind court decisions better. And, a better idea of the evolution of education law might show new ways to constructively use the legal system. I believe the courts have responded with courage, dignity, and hard intellectual labor to the tasks presented to them. Educators can and should respond in kind.

We should be teaching more about how to create positive educational solutions and less on how to react to legal mandates. In today's world this demands a sound understanding of politics and community relations. In Hawkins v. Coleman, the court told the school that it was their responsibility to educate the community on the necessities of the law.

To do this, we need more thinking time, more conferences such as this, more courses in schools of education, and a dedicated research effort. It is a strange fact that although nearly 25 years have passed since the Supreme Court presented our profession with one of the most difficult problems that ever confronted educational administration, there is still no widespread academic study of equal opportunity. Any education graduate student wishing to do individual research finds very little preparatory course work. Why shirk the mandate of the twentieth century? Why rework old problems over and over when there is a new one which desperately needs solving? We are challenged to find ways to motivate and develop children with a multiplicity of backgrounds and viewpoints. We have an opportunity to reform and redirect educational structure. The courts have done their part to start us toward democracy's fullest development--can we not pick up the torch and carry it forward?

ED185221

EDUCATION THAT IS MULTICULTURAL FOR URBAN SCHOOLS: RATIONALE AND RECOMMENDATION

Carl A. Grant

"...the school can provide a vital link between the promises and problems of the urban environment. The goal of Education that is Multicultural--that people learn to understand and respect each other--holds out the hope for revitalizing our cities."

UD 020 527

The following paper by Carl A. Grant identifies five facts to support the need for Education that is Multicultural. Dr. Grant, Associate Professor of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, describes diverse student populations, desegregation and integration, minority-majority group splits, institutional racism, and the singularity of school norms as significant factors which affect respect for individual differences within urban schools. In the second part of his paper, Dr. Grant recommends that schools actively advocate the pluralistic view of Education that is Multicultural. He suggests that planned change strategies be used to develop this view within groups that influence urban schools.

The term "urban schools" usually brings to mind financial crisis, student academic and social failure, desegretation/integration and busing, alienation and frustration of students and teachers, inadequately trained teaching personnel, teacher insecurities about working in city schools, excessive student mobility, school dropouts and pushouts, and poor attendance. Clearly, not everything about urban schools is negative, but the litany of negative examples seems endless and confronts urban educators on a daily basis. Equally evident is the absence of any panacea for resolving them. Instead of readily available solutions, initial amelioration and long-term resolution of these problems is going to demand the collective, orchestrated efforts of many of society's institutions. For educators are not capable of doing the job alone--nor should they be expected to--since the problems in our schools are not simply educational problems.

In spite of this negative view, educators are in a key position to serve as excellent models for the rest of society in dealing with urban problems, especially as they relate to education. The purpose of this paper is to suggest that each educator, and each urban educator in particular, employ the concept of Education that is Multicultural in resolving student, staff, curriculum, and instructional concerns as they relate to racial, cultural, class, sex, and individual diversity. The first part of the paper will provide a rationale for adopting the concept of Education that is Multicultural in all educational settings, and the second part will offer recommendations for using this concept in urban educational settings.

Rationale for Education that is Multicultural for Urban Schools

Education that is Multicultural is needed in all educational settings whether urban, rural, or suburban. Although I have discussed this concept in some detail elsewhere,[1] it is important to note here that in order to truly recognize, accept, and affirm cultural and individual differences, it is necessary that we adopt a comprehensive educational philosophy that respects the diversity of all people, regardless of their race, ethnicity, sex, age, class, religion, or physical characteristics. The belief that all people must be accorded respect is based on the premise that all people have intrinsic worth.[2] Thus, it should be the goal of our socializing institutions--especially our schools--to acknowledge and accept the worth of all people and to instill and maintain the importance of equal respect for all. Educational policies and practices that respect, accept, and affirm cultural diversity and individual differences are needed to achieve this goal, and are particularly critical in urban schools where the probability of finding ethnically and racially diverse student populations is higher than in rural or suburban settings. In theory and practice, then, we must have Education that is Multicultural.

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[1] C. A. Grant. Education that is multicultural--Isn't that what we mean? Journal of Teacher Education, in press.

[2] C. A. Grant. Exploring the contours of multi-cultural education. In C. A. Grant (Ed.), Sifting and winnowing: An exploration of the relationship between multi-cultural education and CBTE. Madison, WI: Teacher Corps Associates, 1975, 8.

It should be noted further that I purposely and advisedly use the term Education that is Multicultural. Although the term Multicultural Education is frequently used to describe this same premise, I believe that this term is a misnomer. The nature of the English language causes adjectives to limit concepts at the same time they describe them. For this reason, Multicultural Education implies a separate part of a student's education that is concerned with multicultural purposes and focus. Such terminology essentially suggests a specialty as opposed to the whole of a student's education. Since education that respects and affirms cultural diversity and individual differences must pervade all aspects of schooling, its principles and purposes must be comprehensive, penetrating, and integrating--not narrow, supplementary, restrictive, or assimilating. Thus the term used to describe such education should be Education that is Multicultural.

In essence, Education that is Multicultural is predicated upon a fundamental belief that all people must be accorded respect, regardless of their social, ethnic, cultural, and religious backgrounds. It is manifested in an educational philosophy that encourages all educational programs to be multicultural. At this point a discussion of several facts which affect urban schools can facilitate a better understanding of the rationale for using this concept in urban settings.

Fact 1: Diverse Student Populations

Seventy-five percent of the people in the United States live in urban areas, and 80% of all students currently enrolled in public schools are in urban, as opposed to rural, schools.[3] The 20 largest cities account for approximately 10% of all students enrolled in public schools, 10.3% of all public school teachers, and about 12.5% of total public school expenditures (see Figure 1).[4] If we look more closely at urban student populations, it becomes readily apparent that they are racially and culturally diverse. Although percentages and ethnic and racial residential patterns vary, minority students outnumber majority culture students in such major cities as Atlanta, Baltimore, Birmingham, Chicago, Cleveland, Dallas, Detroit, District of Columbia, El Paso, Houston, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Louisville, Memphis, Miami, Minneapolis, Newark, New Orleans, New York, Norfolk, Oakland, Philadelphia, Phoenix, St. Louis, San Antonio, and San Francisco (see Figure 2).[5] It has been forecasted that by 1980 minority

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[3] A. Lightfoot. Urban education in social perspective. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1978, 31-32.

[4] Standard education almanac 1976-77 (9th ed.). Chicago: Marquis Academic Media, 1976, 213.

[5] Ibid., 200-201.

	Fall enrollment							Average annual salary for	
City	Total	Kindergarten--grade 8	Grades 9-12 and postgraduate	Classroom teachers	Pupils per teacher	Total expenditures[1] (in thousands)	Current expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance[1]	Total professional instructional staff[1]	Classroom teachers[1]
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
United States...........	45,056,000	30,931,000	14,125,000	2,159,000	20.9	$61,629,000	$1,255	$12,070	$11,595
20 large cities, total..	4,603,425	3,197,130	1,406,295	221,524	20.8	7,688,035	1,777	(2)	14,210
Baltimore, MD...........	173,198	123,893	49,305	7,939	21.8	252,296	1,444	11,535	11,119
Boston, MA..............	87,185	64,466	22,719	4,952	17.6	172,200	1,784	14,632	13,032
Chicago, IL.............	536,657	387,211	149,446	23,846	22.5	1,008,130	1,870	16,484	15,969
Cleveland, OH...........	134,997	91,791	43,206	5,001	27.0	211,400	1,520	13,360	12,653
Dallas, TX..............	151,215	106,698	44,517	6,518	23.2	151,768	1,035	14,500	10,615
Detroit, MI.............	263,011	183,494	79,517	9,596	27.4	323,970	1,269	(2)	14,028
Houston, TX.............	211,369	152,593	58,776	8,825	24.0	191,544	881	9,455	9,019
Indianapolis, IN........	87,642	62,335	25,307	3,817	23.0	95,172	1,099	11,464	10,881
Los Angeles, CA.........	607,206	416,333	190,873	20,446	20.6	845,132	1,191	15,385	14,985
Memphis, TN.............	115,846	79,914	35,932	5,770	20.1	139,008	1,149	11,100	10,800
Milwaukee, WI...........	118,856	81,528	37,328	5,506	21.6	230,085	1,748[3]	14,850	14,250
New Orleans, LA.........	95,738	67,817	27,921	4,764	20.1	108,150	1,116	10,500	10,100
New York, NY............	1,094,859	733,840	361,019	61,970	17.7	2,509,600	2,351	17,100	16,400
Philadelphia, PA........	266,044[1]	181,078[1]	84,966[1]	11,800[1]	22.5[1]	518,523	1,859	15,108	14,635
Phoenix, AR.............	173,003	121,209	51,794	8,040	21.5	231,267	1,087	12,250	10,841
St. Louis, MO...........	90,511	63,314	27,197	3,828	23.6	99,218	1,230	12,200	11,716
San Antonio, TX.........	68,708	48,636	20,072	3,101	22.2	66,483	858	10,030	9,570
San Diego, CA...........	123,214	85,886	37,328	5,429	22.7	144,836	1,066	15,300	14,800
San Francisco, CA.......	72,475	46,980	25,495	4,448	16.3	147,976	1,829	15,650	15,250
Washington, D.C.........	131,691	98,114	33,577	6,928	19.0	241,277	1,814	14,716	14,005

[1] Estimated.

[2] Data not available.

[3] Includes expenditures for summer schools.

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. National Center for Education Statistics. Statistics of Public Elementary and Secondary Day Schools, Fall 1974.

Figure 1. Selected statistics on public elementary and secondary schools in 20 large cities compared with the United States totals: 1974-75.

Name of city	White	Black	Spanish surname	Oriental	American Indian	Other
Atlanta	18.2	81.5	--	--	--	0.3 Combination: Spanish, Asian, American Indian
Baltimore	30.8	68.9	--	--	0.3	--
Birmingham	40.92	59.08	--	--	--	--
Boston	59.5^1	33.08	5.37	1.94	0.1	--
Buffalo	55.0	41.2	2.9	0.1	0.8	--
Chicago	31.0	56.9	11.1	0.8	0.2	--
Cincinnati	52.34	47.26	0.112	0.247	0.033	--
Cleveland	42	57	--	--	--	--
Columbus	70.3	29.3	0.1	0.2	0.1	--
Dallas	48.3	39.8	11.0	0.2	0.3	0.4
Denver	58.3	17.2	23.3	0.8	0.4	--
Detroit	30.8	67.3	1.7	0.15	0.05	--
District of Columbia	3.1^1	95.7	0.6	0.4	0.01	--
El Paso	38.61	2.99	57.73	0.58	0.09	--
Fort Worth	57.6	31.6	10.5	0.1	0.1	--
Houston	43.6	39.4	16.5	0.4	0.1	--
Indianapolis	60.24	39.28	0.026	0.016	0.06	--
Jacksonville	68	32	--	--	--	--
Kansas City, MO	42.16	54.33	3.01	0.18	0.30	0.02
Long Beach	77.8	11.1	7.4	1.7	0.2	1.8 Filipino and others
Los Angeles	46.0	29.2	23.9	3.4	0.2	1.3 Filipino and others
Louisville	47.01	52	0.04	0.04	0.01	N/A
Memphis	42.0	57.8	0.04	0.12	0.02	--
Miami	45.8	26.6	27.2	0.3	0.1	--
Milwaukee	60.09^1	31.24	3.65	0.29	0.72	--
Minneapolis	84.14^1	10.57	0.92	0.57	3.80	--
Nashville	72	27.3	0.4	0.3	0.1	--
Newark	12	73	15	--	--	--
New Orleans	26.19	73.81	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
New York	35.2	36.1	29.9	1.8	--	--
Norfolk	48.01	50.02	0.59	1.25	0.10	--
Oakland	21.8	62.8	7.8	5.5	0.9	1.2 Filipino and other minorities
Oklahoma City	70.1	26.3	1.0	0.1	2.5	--
Omaha	78.2	19.3	1.6	0.3	0.3	--
Philadelphia	34.1	61.4	4.2	0.3	--	--
Phoenix Elementary	33	22	42	I	2	--
Phoenix Roosevelt	25.41	36.15	37.36	0.2	0.4	--
Phoenix Union	73.02	8.56	15.61	0.62	1.45	0.74 Unidentified
Pittsburg	58.34	41.20	0.17	0.28	0.01	--
Portland	86.2	10.5	1.1	1.5	0.7	--
St. Louis	31.11^1	68.54	0.19	0.09	0.05	--
St. Paul	88.41	6.77	3.55	0.24	1.03	--
San Antonio	19.57	15.97	64.19	0.25	0.04	--
San Diego	71.7	13.2	11.3	1.6	0.2	2.0
San Francisco	29.4	30.5	14.0	14.9 (Chinese)	0.3	1.7 Japanese, 0.4 Korean, 6.4 Filipino, 2.5 Others
San Jose	70.0	1.4	25.6	2.2	0.2	0.5
Seattle	74.4	15.1	1.3	6.5	1.5	1.2
Tampa	74.47	18.76	6.27	0.25	0.25	--
Toledo	68.98	27.68	3.16	0.22	0.04	--
Tulsa	79.9	15.4	0.8	0.2	3.7	0.0
Wichita	80.26	16.34	2.40	0.33	0.67	--

[1] Includes other.

SOURCE: Survey of Public Education in the Nation's Big City School Districts, March 1975, National School Boards Association, Evanston, Illinois, 1975.

Figure 2. Ethnic distribution of enrollment K-12, 1972-73.

students will comprise 17.4% of the entire elementary school population and 16.6% of all secondary school students nationwide.[6]

In addition to the large number of minority students in public schools, there is also a substantial percentage of students who may be termed "language minority," those who speak a non-English native language and who belong to an identifiable minority group of generally low socioeconomic status.[7] Although it is difficult to determine precisely how many limited- or non-English speaking students are currently enrolled, at least 5 million are estimated by the U. S. Office of Education to need special language programs. According to the U. S. Census Bureau, 4.5 million Spanish-speaking students speak their native language at home, approximately 259,830 Asian-American children speak little or no English, and an estimated 56,493 Native American children speak English as their second language.[8]

The student populations of public schools may also be examined from another viewpoint. Of the 55,619,000 students enrolled between the ages of 3 and 17, 27,304,000 or nearly half are female (see Figure 3).[9] And

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[6] M. A. Golladay. The condition of education 1977: A statistical report (Vol. III, Pt. 1). Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1977.

[7] A better chance to learn: Bilingual-bicultural education. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1975, 1.

[8] Ibid., 13.

[9] U. S. Bureau of the Census. Statistical Abstracts of the United States: 1977 (98th ed.). Washington, D.C., 1977, 134.

		Percent enrolled (October)						Percent enrolled		
Sex and age	Civilian population (1000)	Total	Nursery school	Kindergarten	Elementary grades 1-8	Secondary grades 9-12	College	Total	High school graduate	Not high school graduate
Male	56,577	55.1	1.4	3.2	26.9	14.3	9.1	44.9	31.6	13.3
3 and 4 years	3,184	30.9	22.4	8.5	-	-	-	69.1	(X)	(X)
5 and 6 years	3,579	95.6	1.7	43.3	50.6	-	-	4.4	(X)	(X)
7-13 years	13,079	99.0	-	-	97.8	1.2	-	1.0	(X)	(X)
14-17 years	8,473	94.6	-	-	7.2	86.2	1.2	5.4	.9	4.5
18-24 years	13,012	32.8	-	-	.1	4.5	28.3	67.2	51.0	16.2
25-29 years	8,369	13.0	-	-	-	.2	12.8	87.0	72.7	14.3
30-34 years	6,882	6.8	-	-	-	.2	6.6	93.2	73.8	19.4
Female	57,405	51.0	1.3	2.9	25.3	13.4	8.1	49.0	35.2	13.8
3 and 4 years	3,054	31.6	23.4	8.2	-	-	-	68.3	(X)	(X)
5 and 6 years	3,434	95.5	1.0	41.4	53.1	-	-	4.5	(X)	(X)
7-13 years	12,587	99.3	-	-	98.0	1.3	-	.7	(X)	(X)
14-17 years	8,229	92.8	-	-	4.6	86.1	1.7	7.2	1.5	5.7
18-24 years	13.907	27.9	-	-	.1	2.6	25.2	72.1	56.5	15.6
25-29 years	8,884	7.3	-	-	-	] .3	7.0	92.8	76.5	16.3
30-34 years	7,309	5.2	-	-	-	] .4	4.8	94.8	74.4	20.4

Note. - Represents zero, X not applicable, and] noninstitutional only.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, unpublished data.

Figure 3. Percent enrolled in school, by level, by sex and age: 1976.

from still another perspective, it has been estimated that there are more than 7 million disabled students, nearly 4 million of whom are served by educational institutions (see Figure 4).[10] While it is difficult to determine the precise number of disabled students in urban public schools, the current trend toward mainstreaming students with special needs in compliance with PL 94-142 indicates that there will be ever-increasing numbers within the next few years.

These data that indicate a rich diversity of students in urban areas support the demand for Education that is Multicultural in schools. The large number of Puerto Ricans who have immigrated to Eastern metropolitan areas; the substantial number of Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, and people from the islands in the Pacific who have settled in the West; the Mexican Americans in the midwest and southwest; the Cubans in Florida; the Black Americans and Native Americans throughout the country; the female and male students; and the disabled students all need to have their similarities and differences understood and respected. Given the diversity in urban schools, then, Education that is Multicultural is necessary so that the school may truly reflect the culturally pluralistic nature of our society.

There are still many urban students of all races and ethnic identities attending monocultural schools. These monocultural schools need to employ the concept of Education that is Multicultural because in our

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[10] Ibid., 352.

Type	Handicapped children (birth to 19 years)			
		Served		
	Total[1] (1,000)	Number[2] (1,000)	Percent of total	Unserved, number (1,000)
Total	7,886	3,947	50	3,939
Speech impaired	2,293	1,850	81	443
Learning disabilities	1,966	235	12	1,731
Mentally retarded	1,507	1,250	83	257
Emotionally disturbed	1,310	230	18	1,080
Crippled and other health impairments	328	235	72	93
Hard of hearing	328	60	18	268
Visually handicapped	66	39	59	27
Deaf	49	35	71	14
Multi-handicapped	40	13	33	27

[1] Based on estimates obtained from national agencies and organizations, plus State and local directors of special education.

[2] Estimated total obtained from State education agencies. Information by type of handicap projected from data provided by State education agencies for school year 1972-73.

Figure 4. Handicapped children, by type: 1974-75.

SOURCE: U. S. National Center for Education Statistics, unpublished data.

highly mobile society, a student in monocultural school today may move and be in a multicultural school tomorrow. In order to eliminate the many forms of discrimination that exist not only in monocultural schools but in society generally, students need to learn about the similarities and the beauty of the differences that exist among all people.

Fact 2: Desegregation/Integration

For the last 6 years the public has identified desegregation/integration as the number two concern facing public schools.[11] Boston, Minneapolis, Little Rock, Nashville, Portland, Bogalusa, Wichita, Racine, and Ogden, just to name a few urban areas, have recently undergone desegregation/integration procedures. Chicago, San Diego, and Milwaukee are in the process of working out court-ordered desegregation/integration procedures. The plans for desegregation/integration of these cities implicitly and, in some cases, explicitly suggest the need for multicultural experiences. For example, the proposed San Diego plan for racial integration directly calls for multicultural education when it states that:

> The multicultural education component is designed to develop and expand multicultural programs which will be an integral part of the total district curriculum, grades kindergarten through 12. The component is composed of curriculum develop-

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[11] Golladay, 20.

> ment, acquisition of materials and the training of staff in all content areas.[12]

The stated objectives are "to help students develop attitudes of self-worth and dignity, and to develop knowledge and attitudes which help each to accept and respect cultural differences in others as positive characteristics which make each person and group special and unique."[13] The plan goes on to say that:

> Positive acceptance and respect of individual and cultural group differences will help students understand that each individual and group is a legitimate and desired part of a larger mosaic which composes American society. As a means to this end, staff members will assess site needs upon which curriculum, instructional materials and staff training will be based. Staff will be helped to view each student as an asset to the instructional program and to utilize a variety of teaching techniques to meet learning style differences among students.[14]

Not all urban areas undergoing desegregation/integration have developed plans as comprehensive and descriptive as the San Diego plan, which directly calls for multicultural curriculum, materials, and staff development. Many, nevertheless, have provided inservice sessions for staff, students, and community in the areas of human relations and cultural diversity.

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[12] San Diego plan for racial integration (Vol. I). San Diego: San Diego City Schools, 1977, 43.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

In Wichita, Kansas, the school district conducted human relations training for about 3,000 professionals, classified employees, parents, students, and business and community leaders. At the same time, individual schools acquired multicultural materials.[15] More than 80% of the faculty of the Ogden, Utah, schools received inservice training in multicultural sensitivity.[16] Schools in Portland provided inservice training to the school staff through workshops, seminars, and retreats. These inservice sessions focused on human relations questions and concerns which could arise in a multicultural school environment.[17]

In many schools, inservice training in multicultural education has been instituted to help staff, students, and the community to improve their efforts toward successful racial integration. The continuation and enrichment of a successful integration experience in schools, however, will depend upon the recognition, acceptance, and affirmation of Education that is Multicultural by the total school staff.

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[15] School desegregation in Wichita, Kansas. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1977, 15.

[16] School desegregation in Ogden, Utah. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1977, 7.

[17] School desegregation in Portland, Oregon. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1977, 8.

Fact 3: Minority-Majority Group Split

A recent survey conducted by The New York Times and CBS replicated the 1968 study of the Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders on progress in racial relations and social advancements. The results suggest another reason for the need for Education that is Multicultural. The following data taken from the report are illustrative of the feelings and attitudes on the part of the minority and majority group respondents.

> The anger and smoldering resentment that fueled the riots seem to have receded, but so has optimism among Blacks. If anything, they say they find the racial barriers to jobs, good housing and other necessities even higher than they were before. Nearly half today say they believe that Whites do not care whether they get a better break. In sum, a sense of neglect, resignation, perhaps futility, seems to prevail among urban Blacks.[18]

However, the Whites interviewed appeared "more tolerant racially than they were before, far more likely to accept Black neighbors and Black friends for their children. They feel that Blacks are making good progress, and they seem to find little real urgency in the Black situation."[19] In discussing the progress made toward the development of a new attitude as called for in the 1968 study, the report found "that there are indeed new attitudes about race relations and new understanding among Whites, but perhaps not the new will to take the bitter medicine the remedies may require."

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[18] The New York Times, February 26, 1978.

[19] Ibid. The information in the following paragraph is taken from the same source.

As the concept of integration becomes more of a reality in this country, not only in schools but also in housing, Education that is Multicultural is needed to make living together among different racial groups workable. Whereas 10 years ago only 6 out of 10 Whites surveyed said that Blacks should be able to live where they can afford to, today 9 out of 10 Whites support this view. Whereas two-thirds of the Blacks interviewed stated that they would prefer to live in an integrated area, the reality is that only a fifth live in such neighborhoods, and two-thirds of all Blacks live in totally or primarily racially isolated neighborhoods.

The report also points out another reason for the necessity of Education that is Multicultural. Racial sensitivity and tolerance appear to have increased both on the part of Whites toward Blacks and Blacks' perceptions of Whites. When asked "how many Whites in their city 'dislike' Blacks," 39% of the Blacks surveyed in 1978 said "many or almost all do,"[20] down from 57% in 1968. In order to continue and to capitalize on this positive trend toward improvement in race relations, Education that is Multicultural must be adopted and affirmed by schools.

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[20] Ibid.

Fact 4: Institutional Racism

Public schools have, for too long, perpetuated both social and institutional racism and the belief that there should be "one model American." Itzkoff has observed that in the mid-nineteenth century the common school was so successful in assimilating new immigrant groups that it was able to move out and spread quickly beyond its Massachusetts origins.[21] The newcomers were persuaded to adopt the English language and accept other features of American life that not only would "Americanize" them, but also would protect them from discrimination as "foreigners" and give them greater access to social success and economic prosperity. Itzkoff's observation is characteristic of a number of reports by such noted educators as Cubberley,[22] Levine and Herman,[23] and Novak[24] of the school's attempt to promote cultural homogeneity. Yet despite the efforts of schooling, in some cases the social structure deterred assimilation and prevented some people from sharing in the advantages of the American way of life. For non-White minorities specifically, prejudice, hatred, and intolerance have historically precluded their sharing in the riches of American society in any meaningful manner.

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[21] S. W. Itzkoff. Curriculum pluralism in urban education. School and Society, 1966, 94, 385.

[22] E. P. Cubberley. Cited in R. J. Vecoli, Ethnic heritage studies centers, hearing before the general subcommittee on education, p. 71; quoted in R. Pucinski, Ethnic studies and urban reality, in M. Wenk, S. M. Thomasi, & G. Baroni (Eds.), Pieces of a dream. New York: The Center for Migration Studies, 1972.

[23] I. M. Levine & J. Herman. Group conflict, group interest, and group identity: Some Jewish reflections on new Pluralism. In M. Wenk, S. M. Thomasi, & G. Baroni (Eds.), Pieces of a dream. New York: The Center for Migration Studies, 1972, 187.

[24] M. Novak. One species, many cultures. The American Scholar, Winter 1973-74, 43, 113.

Education that is Multicultural is necessary to help correct this continuing moral dilemma. For decades our urban schools have served as key institutions in the perpetuation of racism in our society at both overt and covert levels. Racially biased instructional materials and the shortage of minority teachers[25] are only two examples of overt racism that persist today. Covertly, unjust labeling and classifying of students, using biased testing materials, and holding lower expectations for minorities continue to contribute to the destruction of the academic and social lives of many urban students.

The lack of meaningful minority community and parent involvement in schools has perpetuated the alienation of parents from their children's schooling. This alienation has ranged along a continuum from such experiences as the controversy surrounding Ocean-Hill/Brownsville to the mere relegation of community people to the status of junior, and usually silent, partners on advisory councils of many federally funded programs. Somewhere between these two polar positions is the type of parental involvement that summons parents to school only when Carlos or Margaret does something wrong, or for spectator events such as open house, graduation, or sports. Events like these are, more often than not, characteristic of school-community relations in urban schools. Without question, there is a need for better communication between the community and the school if the problems of urban education are going to be resolved.

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[25] For example, 87% of the teachers in this country are White, and in many states minority students greatly exceed corresponding percentages of minority teachers (see The Condition of Education 1975, 50).

These four conditions which affect urban schools are indicative of a powerful need to use Education that is Multicultural. However, still another condition, the prevalence of singularity of school norms, has inhibited the establishment and affirmation of the norm of respect for diversity.

Fact 5: Singularity of School Norms

Norms are the models, expected ways, principles, or authoritarian standards that guide individuals' behavior in certain situations. Dreeben defines norms as "situationally specific standards for behavior; they are prindiples, premises, or expectations indicating how individuals in specific circumstances ought to act."[26] The norms of high achievement and hard work, for example, have been a part of the American belief since early colonial days and continue to be very important in our society today. A recent employment advertisement in The New York Times attests to this fact:

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[26] R. Dreeben. On what is learned in school. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1968, 49.

> As a result of unusual growth, an outstanding career opportunity for a highly motivated, success and results-oriented editorial and sales minded professional has become available. This position requires a conceptual, analytical, and creative thinker who can work independently in identifying and generating proposals for new business ventures. This position offers daily exposure to all levels of business and editorial personnel and requires multilevel written and oral communication skills.[27]

Norms also are no strangers to educators, because schools, like all institutions, are normative. Shipman observes that:

> . . . the main aim of teachers may be to increase knowledge or deepen intellectual understanding, but all schools go beyond this to try to spread ideas of right and wrong, a common morality. This direction or regulation of behavior is normative, consisting of a series of social norms or constraints to act in clearly defined and sanctioned ways.[28]

Schooling, then, is not only governed by norms, but also helps students learn to identify, accept, and follow these norms. School norms basically center around standards of behavior and principles that relate to academic achievement, the work ethic, and political socialization into the "American way of life."

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[27] The New York Times, April 2, 1978.

[28] M. D. Shipman. The sociology of the school. London: Longman Group, Ltd., 1975, 27.

Dreeben, in his thorough and scholarly treatment of what is learned in school, identifies four norms--independence, achievement, universalism, and specificity--that schools characteristically and purposefully transmit. In commenting on these four norms, he observes:

> In speaking of these four ideas as norms, I mean that individuals accept them as legitimate standards for governing their own conduct in the appropriate situations. Specifically, they accept the obligations to (1) act by themselves (unless collaborative effort is called for), and accept personal responsibility for their conduct and accountability for its consequences; (2) perform tasks actively and master the environment according to certain standards of excellence; and (3) acknowledge the rights of others to treat them as members of categories (4) on the basis of a few discrete characteristics rather than on the full constellation of them that represent the whole person.[29]

While it is not the purpose of this paper to review in detail nor debate the norms that Dreeben identifies, an illustration of how the norms are related to Education that is Multicultural is useful to the argument presented here.

The norm of achievement is central to the whole concept of schooling. One of the important purposes of teaching is to help students grow academically. However, respect for diversity or difference in achievement is not the rule. Students who don't achieve in standardized measurement and evaluation are, at best, looked upon as low or nonachievers and, at worst, as deviants. There are few, if any, alternative routes to achievement for students who, for example, speak English as a second language, or for students with disabilities. The norms of most schools do not encourage the acceptance and affirmation of diversity in race, sex, class, age, and physical differences. Teachers, instructional materials, and testing materials all contribute to socializing students into accepting the singularity of school norms. Although a few norms pay lip service to diversity, most are antithetical to it. A brief examination of these three educational components will support this statement.

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[29] Dreeben, 63-64.

Teachers. Teachers "consciously or unconsciously, . . . impart norms of the individual's role in society."[30] According to Riessman, the norm that is imparted by teachers to many low income inner-city students is that they are second class. He reports, "Educators continue to use, whether implicitly or explicitly, a basic compensatory model; that is, they assume that inner-city youngsters are inadequate and need all kinds of special help to make them like middle-class children. No matter what teachers do, the message the child hears is: I am inadequate, deficient, missing something."[31]

Silberman, in his classic study, also provides insight for our discussion when he writes:

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[30] Massialas, in Dreeben, iii.

[31] F. Riessman. The inner-city child. New York: Harper & Row, 1976, 1.

> The teachers in the low-income black school not only taught less, they also evaluated their students' work less than half as frequently as the teachers in the middle-class rooms. More important, perhaps, their evaluations were almost always negative; in the low-income black classes, teachers made negative comments about their students three times as often as they made positive ones. In the middle-class rooms, by contrast, teachers offered positive evaluations more often than negative ones.[32]

The norms that exist and the institutional practices that are carried out in many schools with large minority populations encourage teachers to expect minority group students and low-income students to fail and suggest to the students that they are failures.

Instructional materials. Another educational component that plays a paramount role in socializing students to accept the singularity of norms is that of instructional materials. Reports by Marcus,[33] Klineberg,[34] and Women on Words and Images[35] are only a few of the studies that have described the racial or sex bias in instructional materials. In a study of some second and third grade reading texts Grant and Grant note that:

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[32] C. E. Silberman. Crisis in the classroom: The remaking of American education. New York: Random House, 1970, 89.

[33] L. Marcus. The treatment of minorities in secondary school textbooks. New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1961, 48-57.

[34] O. Klineberg. Life is fun in a smiling, fair-skinned world. The Saturday Review, February 16, 1963, 75-77.

> 1. There were more all-majority group stories than all-minority and multicultural stories combined.
>
> 2. In multicultural stories the characters were usually Black and White.
>
> 3. In multicultural stories whites were more involved than any other group; Blacks were next but considerably lower than Whites. However, Blacks greatly exceeded all other racial groups, Hispanic, Native American, and Asian, combined.[36]

While books have shown some improvements in racism and sex role stereotyping during the last few years, these studies show that the improvement has not been substantive.

Testing materials. Testing materials are another component of the educational process that greatly influence the norms that are learned in school about different groups of people, especially minority group individuals. Testing materials have been perceived as being so damaging to minority and individuals of lower socioeconomic status that in 1972 the National Education Association called for a moratorium on the use of standardized intelligence and achievement tests. Since that time other educational organizations and associations have also suggested a serious need for critically examining the use and abuse of tests. An observation by Oakland captures the nature of the testing materials problem. He writes:

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[35] Women on Words and Images. Dick and Jane as victims. Princeton, NJ, 1972.

[36] C. A. Grant & G. Grant. A multicultural evaluation of some elementary textbook readers: A survey analysis. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Toronto, Ontario, March 27, 1978.

> Critics assert that tests imperfectly predict future behaviors, rigidly shape school curricula and restrict educational change, represent an invasion of privacy, foster a view of man as having only innate and fixed abilities and characteristics, and foster undersirable biases and expectations. In addition, the relevance of norm-referenced measures for instructional purposes is being seriously challenged. . . . These assertions question the methodological soundness and social utility of educational and psychological measurement as it applies to all persons.[37]

Minority group members also have become more vocal in their attacks on testing procedures. They assert that since tests reflect middle-class standards they cannot accurately or fairly assess diverse cognitive and linguistic abilities. They further argue that these testing procedures discriminate against individuals of lower socioeconomic status and minority group members by limiting their educational and vocational opportunities.

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[37] T. Oakland. Assessing minority group children: Challenges for school psychologists. In B. N. Phillips (Ed.), Assessing minority group children. New York: Behavioral Publications, 1973, 295.

Thus these three educational components, teachers, instructional materials, and testing materials, are illustrative of ways in which schools perpetuate a single set of norms that does not respect diversity. Now I will examine ways in which these social and normative conditions can be ameliorated by planned change in the school system.

Recommendation: Use Planned Change Strategies and Keep in Clear Perspective that the School is a Dynamic Social System

Instead of advocating a singular normative view in relation to race, sex, age, class, and physical differences, schools must advocate and affirm a pluralistic view. To bring this about, educators must view schools within the framework of social systems. As defined by Getzels, Lipham, and Campbell,

> . . . we may conceive of the social system as involving two classes of phenomena which are at once conceptually independent and phenomenally interactive: (1) the institutions, with certain roles and expectations, that will fulfill the goals of the system; and (2) the individuals, with certain

personalities and dispositions, inhabiting the system, whose observed interactions comprise what we call social behavior.[38]

Although educators are generally aware that they are part of a social system, it is important that they keep in clear perspective the specific way various dimensions of the school interact. Only by understanding the complex interplay between institutional expectations and individual behaviors can educators carry out substantive rather than superficial change. Within a social systems framework, educators can methodically explore elements both within and outside the school that can help achieve pluralistic goals for change.

Elements Within the School

Within the school, a number of elements related to both the institution and the individual must be assessed to formulate planned change strategies. These elements may be grouped as leadership, staff personnel, instructional program and school environment, and student population.

Leadership. Foremost among the elements that can facilitate change toward the norm of respect for diversity are committed individuals who can serve as leaders. Leaders must be aware of the school as a dynamic social system and be able to promote a cooperative climate for change. In order to influence the activities of others, leaders must recognize the importance of motivation and of a school environment that encourages change. They also must attempt to involve everyone who will be affected in various aspects of decision-making. Change will require that those individuals involved clarify, analyze, and assess their values, beliefs, and norms, and that they understand the nature and impact of prejudice and discrimination. Effective leadership can help individuals feel less threatened by difficult and emotional confrontations, and, in the end, can encourage commitment to defined objectives leading to achievement of the ultimate goal of Education that is Multicultural.

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[38] J. W. Getzels, J. M. Lipham, & R. F. Campbell. Educational administration as a social process: Theory, research and practice. New York: Harper & Row, 1968, 56.

Staff personnel. Recognizing that staff personnel are the key to successfully implementing Education that is Multicultural in the school, the leaders should orchestrate the following personnel activities: assessment of the range of attitudes and behaviors of staff personnel toward Education that is Multicultural; determining the staff improvement needed; discovery of natural leaders or power cliques that can help or deter implementation efforts; identification of staff who are presently implementing the principle of Education that is Multicultural; development of a cadre of staff members who will visibly support the implementation of the concept; identification of new staff members with needed experience; and orientation of new staff members to the implementation of Education that is Multicultural.

Instructional program and school environment. Curriculum, instructional materials, teaching styles, and school experiences are all important influences on students' attitudes, behavior, and academic and social success. The relevance of these four areas to cultural diversity and the needs of a diverse student population must now be examined. Curriculum, for example, must affirm differences, be flexible, unbiased, and incorporate the contributions of all groups. Instructional materials should help students develop positive attitudes about their cultural groups and accept other cultural groups.

Teachers play a very important role in both areas. By participating in workshops, seminars, and information interaction, they can learn to select, adapt, develop, and assess curriculum. They also can become aware of omissions, biases, and stereotypes displayed in instructional materials. Inservice education can help teachers acquire substantive information relevant to education for a pluralistic society. For example, they can acquire "historical information that identifies and substantiates contributions of individuals from all races and cultures, including examples from contemporary American life."[39] Other relevant areas of investigation should include psychology, sociology, political science, economics, and linguistics.

Teaching styles that promote the academic and social learning of all students need to be employed. Flexibility is essential for the teacher who must be able to assess the needs of the classroom population, provide a variety of learning experiences, and recognize the students themselves as valuable resources. Learning activities can help students appreciate similarities, as well as differences, among people from diverse cultures. Teachers can encourage discussions of experiences arising from students' diverse backgrounds. Students' personal experiences should be validated and recognized as valuable contributions to the learning environment.

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[39] C. A. Grant & S. L. Melnick. Developing and implementing multicultural inservice teacher education. In J. Collins & A. Wilson (Eds.), Issues in inservice education. Syracuse, NY: National Council of States on Inservice Education, 1977, 49.

The school should provide an opportunity to examine social forces that optimize or minimize opportunities of minorities, the physically different, the elderly, the poor, and women. For example, students can examine mass media representation of these groups. The school environment itself needs to be examined to see how it communicates to all personnel that the school is theirs, that they live in a pluralistic society, and that the school supports equal opportunity and respect for all. For example, is the school's mascot a symbolic reference that will insult a group of people--such as "wild Indian"? Do bulletin boards and posters reflect the pluralistic nature of our society? Do school clubs and organizations not only encourage the membership of all students, but reflect in their philosophy and activities the culture and background of the total student population and other groups in our society? Through culturally relevant curricula and instructional materials, learning activities, and school experiences, students can learn to appreciate alternative lifestyles and value orientations.

Student population. All students need to be assessed for their acceptance and affirmation of the principle of Education that is Multicultural. Whether the students in the school are all Black, all Hispanic, all White, or are a multicultural population, the school should identify the students' attitudes toward respect for differences. This identification of learner needs will help in planning and implementing experiences to encourage students to develop positive attitudes and behaviors toward human differences.

As the school leadership examines the student population in relation to implementing Education that is Multicultural, they need to recognize that students as a group have a culture all their own. Although the inherent differences between adolescent peer culture and the adult culture may create conflict as schools pursue the pluralistic norm, the point to be kept in mind is that there are alternative behaviors that can affirm respect for diversity. The leadership will want to actively involve the student in educational planning and programming for Education that is Multicultural. Students should be viewed as important change agents because they do have a direct impact upon how their parents and staff members accept and affirm Education that is Multicultural.

Elements Outside the Schools

A number of elements outside the schools also have an impact upon what occurs within the school. I will consider the following: national and state factors, central office personnel, and community and parents.

National and state factors. In order to implement the concept of Education that is Multicultural within the school, leadership should use various resources available at both the national and state level. At the national level, congressional legislation (for example, Ethnic Heritage Act, Title IX, PL. 94-142, Bilingual Education Act) and judicial decisions (such as Lau v. Nichols, Hobson v. Hansen) can both support and direct the total school population in accepting and affirming diversity. Information of this nature, along with reports that show a growing commitment to Education that is Multicultural at the state level, may be very influential in persuading staff and students to strongly consider the concept. For example, a recent study conducted by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education reported that:

> 34 different states address multicultural education through legislation, regulation, guidelines, and/or policies.
>
> 22 of these states have provisions for bilingual education. At least 15 of these states have developed criteria for judging the instructional materials to be used in the classrooms of the state.
>
> 23 states have requirements related to multicultural education for the certification of teachers.
>
> 13 states specify the need for staff development activities in this area, especially when the student population of a

school or school district includes a concentration of limited-English speaking families or minority families.[40]

If support is evident at the national and state levels, leadership at the local level will be aided in instilling the necessary confidence and commitment in staff and students to accept and affirm respect for diversity.

Central office personnel. The superintendent and other central office staff personnel need to be assessed to ascertain their support for Education that is Multicultural. Assessment of support should help to discover both the financial and human resources available to help the school. The superintendent and other key central office staff personnel should be encouraged to publicly accept and affirm the principle of Education that is Multicultural. Administrative reports on service, personnel, and selection of materials should reflect their affirmation of the respect for differences.

Parents and community. Visible community and parent participation in education is becoming a reality in the schooling process. The school leadership must take into account the community environment when exploring factors that may assist or hinder the implementation of Education that is Multicultural. Lipham and Hoeh have suggested that a school

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[40] State legislation: Provisions and practices related to multicultural education. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1978, 82-83.

"principal should recognize that the formal and informal subpublic cleavages within the community often have a powerful and direct influence on the nature and frequency of citizen interaction with the school."[41] They also report that the "cleavages typically exist along such lines as geographic region, type of occupation, income level, amount of schooling, age, religion, political party affiliation, race, and other individual characteristics and group memberships."[42] An understanding of the culture, ethos, and values of the environment outside the school will enable school leadership to use the resources of the community more effectively, and to plan better communication of the school's implementation of the concept of Education that is Multicultural to the community.

Planned Change Strategies

After exploring or assessing the elements within and outside of the school, it is important that the leadership analyze the results obtained. This analysis will point out discrepancies between the existing singular normative view and the proposed pluralistic normative view and provide a more detailed and personal understanding as to why the singular normative view exists in the school. Based upon this analysis, plans can be formulated for organized, systematic change.

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[41] J. M. Lipham & J. A. Hoeh, Jr. The principalship: Foundations and functions. New York: Harper & Row, 1974, 325.

[42] Ibid., 323-324.

The organized procedure for implementing change is described by Zaltman and Duncan as planned change. "Planned change is a deliberate effort with a stated goal on the part of a change agent [the leadership] to create a modification in the structure and process of a social system such that it requires members of that system to relearn how they perform their roles."[43] I strongly endorse planned change strategies because implementation of such an emotion-laden concept as Education that is Multicultural requires a "formal" plan. Previous reports have described the difficulties inherent in getting teachers to accept the concept. Joyce, Howey, and Yarger report that efforts to establish inservice programs in multicultural education are difficult because they require teachers to reexamine their own attitudes and behavior in regard to racial, cultural, and individual diversity.[44] Mann observed that teachers on inservice projects tend to move to pedagogical activities that are more neutral or technical instead of activities that may cause them to examine their cultural values. He comments:

> Where the goals of the project included attention to strongly held cultural values (attitudes about race, ethnic pluralism, student responsibilities), the projects tended to concentrate on the supposedly more neutral and technical aspects of

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[43] G. Zaltman & R. Duncan. Strategies for planned change. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1977, 10.

[44] P. R. Joyce, K. R. Howey, & S. J. Yarger. ISTE, Report 1: Issues to face, 1976.

pedagogy and consistently avoided engaging in controversies. Thus, projects that started out to deal with race ended up working on instructional techniques.[45]

Cross and Deslonde conducted a study to investigate the benefits teachers would receive from participating in multicultural inservice sessions. The result of this study suggests that "the 82 elementary teachers in this study did not perceive the multicultural inservice training they received as very useful."[46] Nevertheless, it is the authors' conclusion that it is important to our argument here. They wisely comment:

> If many educators have a unicultural vision and/or are negative and seem unchanged after inservice in multicultural education, can schools be turned around? The answer is yes. Before schools are turned around, however, the interactive processes which lead to a repressive atmosphere must be recognized and understood. This awareness is the professional responsibility of school administrators, teachers and teacher educators. Assessment of programs and directions, under the aegis of reform, is essential to the development of an atmosphere that is responsive to the rights of children. Those interested in change, a change that might

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[45] D. Mann. The politics of training teachers in schools. Teachers College Record, 1976, 77, 326.

[46] D. E. Cross & J. Deslonde. The impact of teacher inservice programs on attitudes toward multicultural education. Educational Research Quarterly, 1978, 2, 103.

make a difference, understand that public schools are intensely political. Unless these politics are understood, multicultural education and other approaches are at best cosmetic.[47]

In order to eliminate or greatly minimize the problems just described, the leadership has to recognize and understand that the social change being advocated in the school will cause various forms of resistance. Resistance, according to Zaltman and Duncan, is "any conduct that serves to maintain the status quo in the face of pressure to alter the status quo."[48] They identify cultural, social, organizational, and psychological forms of resistance or barriers to change. (Figure 5 provides a further breakdown of these barriers to change.) These barriers to change have to be acknowledged and overcome in order to make a need for change evident and have a successful change occur, establish a climate and openness to change, and encourage a committment to change. Zaltman and Duncan suggest some general principles for minimizing resistance to change. Change should not threaten the change target's self-esteem. It should not jeopardize an individual's position, power, or influence with regard to reference groups, nor create role conflict for individuals in target systems. Group members in target systems must perceive a good chance of successfully achieving change. Proposed change, therefore, demands top-level support in the system, provision of the necessary technical skills to implement change, and an awareness

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[47] Ibid., 104.

[48] Zaltman & Duncan, 63.

RESISTANCE DEFINED

CULTURAL BARRIERS TO CHANGE

- Cultural Values and Beliefs
- Cultural Ethnocentrism
- Saving Face
- Incompatibility of a Cultural Trait with Change

SOCIAL BARRIERS TO CHANGE

- Group Solidarity
- Rejection of Outsiders
- Conformity to Norms
- Conflict
- Group Insight

ORGANIZATIONAL BARRIERS TO CHANGE

- Threat to Power and Influence
- Organizational Structure
- Behavior of Top-Level Administrators
- Climate for Change in the Organization
- Technological Barriers for Resistance

PSYCHOLOGICAL BARRIERS TO CHANGE

- Perception
- Homeostasis
- Conformity and Commitment
- Personality Factors

Figure 5. G. Zaltman and R. Duncan, Strategies for planned change. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1977, 61.

of personality characteristics (such as dogmatism, low tolerance for ambiguity, low risk-taking propensity) of individuals in the change target system.[49] It should also be noted that "resistance" can be used constructively by the school leadership. Rubin et al. provide a cogent statement on this idea. They summarize that:

> By resisting, actively or passively, an organization is communicating a message--it is providing data. In a very real sense, an organization is telling us something about "who it is"--its major resources and limitations, its attitude toward outsiders and change, its important internal norms and values, and the nature of its relationship to other systems in the environment.[50]

The school leadership can employ a number of planned change strategies for moving from a singular normative viewpoint in regard to race, sex, class, age, and physical differences to a pluralistic viewpoint. Scholars of planned change point out the benefits of such strategies as: facilitative, empirical-rational, power-coercive, normative re-educative, and the use of multiple strategies for implementing change. Although the length allotted to this paper does not permit a detailed discussion of these strategies, it is useful to briefly describe them.

The facilitative strategies are those that can be used when the school personnel involved in the change recognizes the problem, agrees to remedial action, is open to outside help, and is willing to engage in self-help activities. Facilitative strategies include both human and material resources, such as research, educational, and financial aids.[51]

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[49] Ibid., 88-89

[50] I. Ruben et al. Initiating planned change in health care systems. JABS, 1974, 10, 108. (Cited in Zaltman & Duncan, p. 62.)

Empirical-rational strategies assume first that people are "guided by reason" and, second, "that they will utilize some rational calculus of self-interest in determining needed changes in behavior."[52] The statement --"Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health"--on the side of a cigarette package is an example of the use of this strategy.

Power-coercive strategies emphasize political, economic, legal, or moral sanctions in bringing about the desired change. The new highway law changing the speed limit to 55 miles per hour is an example of the use of the power-coercive strategy.

Normative re-educative strategies "are based upon the fundamental assumption that people are guided in their actions, not dichotomously by reason or by external coercion, but primarily by 'socially funded and communicated meanings, norms, and institutions, in brief by a normative culture.' At the personal level [they] are guided by internalized meanings, habits, and values," according to Chin and Benne, who also note,

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[51] For further discussion of facilitative strategies, see Zaltman & Duncan, Chapter 4.

[52] R. Chin & K. D. Benne. General strategies for effecting change in human systems. In W. G. Bennis, K. D. Benne, & R. Chin (Eds.), The planning of change. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1969, 33.

> Changes in patterns of action or practice are, therefore, changes not alone in the rational informational equipment of men [sic], but at the personal level, in habits and values as well and, at the socio-cultural level, changes are alterations in normative structures and institutionalized roles and relationships, as well as in cognitive and perceptual orientations.[53]

Leadership is seldom required to choose only one of the strategies described above. Many times it will be necessary and advisable to use all three, as recommended by Duncan and Zaltman:

> The introduction of a new product or service may begin primarily with re-educative strategy aimed at those persons most prone to adopting innovations early, that is, innovators and early adopters. As the innovation diffuses among these groups, a more persuasive strategy may be appropriate for the more difficult or less change-oriented groups, such as the late majority and laggard groups. Independent of which strategy and/or group is of focal concern at any one time, it may be desirable to be pursuing a facilitative strategy, making the innovation more readily available, easier to use, and so forth, for every group. What might be most facilitative for one group may not be most facilitative for another group.[54]

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[53] Ibid., 35.

[54] Zaltman & Duncan, 166-167.

While the use of multiple strategies is often appropriate for change, the nature of change in the school as a social system suggests that re-educative strategies be the primary focus.

In keeping with the use of normative re-educative strategies, an on-going inservice program must be implemented for the total school staff. As illustrated in Figure 6, the meshing of effective Multicultural Inservice Teacher Education and the principles of normative re-education is pivotal to subsequent affirmation of diversity. Simply put, the school personnel are going to have to rid themselves of their biased thinking about race, sex, class, age, and the physically different. This will not be easy for them for it requires the unlearning of lies and myths that have been a part of their lives for years. This unlearning will require a new re-education.

The re-education of staff personnel will, in most cases, require a three-phase process for changing teacher attitudes and behavior. This three-phase process as developed by Grant and Melnick[55] is as follows: Phase One--Awareness and Recognition, Phase Two--Acceptance and Appreciation, and Phase Three--Affirmation.

The first phase is designed to increase self-awareness and self-understanding for each member of the school personnel through an interactive dialogue and inquiry process. The minimum objective for this phase, they state, should include the following:

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[55] Grant & Melnick, 49.

Re-educative strategies*	Multicultural inservice teacher education strategies
1. Emphasis should be placed on the client's "involvement in working out programs of change and improvement for himself" or herself.	1. Emphasis should be placed on the educator's involvement in working out programs of change and improvement for himself or herself and his or her students. Although inservice programs should be facilitated by individuals who are supportive of the desired change and knowledgeable about ways to effect this change, educators must feel a sense of direct ownership in the design, development, implementation, and evaluation of the programs.
2. Although more adequate information might be useful in bringing about the desired change, it is imperative that one consider the possibility that the problems "lie in the attitudes, values, norms, and the external and	2. To develop and implement multicultural curriculums, educators must have more adequate and accurate information related to the various dimensions of all cultures. For educators to use the newly acquired

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*Strategies listed in the left-hand column are paraphrased from Chin & Benne, 1976, 32-33.

Figure 6. Strategies for multicultural inservice teacher education.

SOURCE: C. A. Grant & S. L. Melnick. Multicultural perspectives for curriculum development and their relationship to inservice education. In R. A. Edelfelt & E. B. Smith, Breakaway to multi-dimensional approaches. Washington, D.C.: Association of Teacher Educators, 1978, 92-93.

Re-educative strategies*	Multicultural inservice teacher education strategies
internal relationships" of clients.	knowledge effectively, however, they must eliminate negative attitudes and pathological norms from their repertoire of beliefs and values.
3. Change agents must work "mutually and collaboratively" with clients to define and solve problems.	3. Programs of planned change relating to cultural pluralism demand collaborative efforts to define and resolve problems at hand openly and honestly. Support and involvement are required from all parties concerned--participants (instructional, administrative, and special services personnel), facilitators, community members, state departments of education, teacher organizations, and teacher preparation institutions alike.

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*Strategies listed in the left-hand column are paraphrased from Chin & Benne, 1976, 32-33.

Figure 6. Strategies for multicultural inservice teacher education. (Continued)

Re-educative strategies*	Multicultural inservice teacher education strategies
4. "Nonconscious elements which impede problem solution must be brought into consciousness and publicly examined and reconstructed."	4. Normative reeducation requires a constant and consistent pattern of dialogue and inquiry through which educators can, in a non-threatening environment, define and solve classroom problems that are essentially grounded in normative beliefs about culturally different students.
5. Methods, concepts, and resources of the behavioral sciences should be applied "selectively, relevantly, and appropriately" in order to resolve the problems at hand.	5. To effectively bring about multicultural curriculums, inservice programs must apply as many resources as possible from the behavioral sciences--"selectively, relevantly, and appropriately." Multicultural education requires curriculum different from that required for the conversion to metrics,

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*Strategies listed in the left-hand column are paraphrased from Chin & Benne, 1976, 32-33.

Figure 6. Strategies for multicultural inservice teacher education. (Continued)

Re-educative strategies	Multicultural inservice teacher education strategies
	and much more than inserting "una bomba" or "soul food" or lighting firecrackers for the Chinese New Year. It requires a total integration of all facets of life that constitute culture and therefore demands the widest range of resources possible for curriculum development and implementation.

Figure 6. Strategies for multicultural inservice teacher education. (Continued)

1. a conscious and deliberate clarification, analysis and assessment of the values, beliefs, norms, and standards held by each individual teacher.
2. a determined analysis of the existence and concomitant dangers of self-denial, self-hatred, and cultural rejection by many racially, culturally, and individually different people.
3. an honest examination of racism, sexism, and classism in society.
4. An open evaluation of the manner in which American institutions, and especially schools, perpetuate discrimination and prejudice.[56]

The acceptance and appreciation phase "involves the delivery of more accurate, factual information about the various dimensions of all races, cultures, and individual differences, both through cognitive and interactive activities."[57] The authors add that school personnel "should have access to substantive materials and activities that clearly demonstrate the distinction between linguistic differences and linguistic deficiencies . . . [and] have entensive experiences with materials and activities that point out and substantiate the contribution of all racial and cultural groups in this country."[58]

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[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid., 50.

[58] Ibid.

In the affirmation phase the school personnel integrates respect for differences into the total school environment. This respect for differences should be affirmed in the curriculum, learning materials, and all-school experiences.[59]

Conclusion

Given the five illustrative facts about urban students noted in the first part of this paper, there is, without question, a need for systematic change within schools to bring about a respect for racial, cultural, and individual diversity. It is the author's contention that Education that is Multicultural must be adopted to effect this change. Essential to this concept is a thorough understanding of the dynamics of the school as a social system and careful use of planned change strategies for both inservice education and total school change. Equally important is the realization of the problems of the cities and the difficulties educators will encounter as they attempt to make substantive rather than cosmetic changes in schools. By using resistant elements constructively and by working cooperatively with all members of the school community, educators can enhance current plans for integration and initial attempts to make education multicultural, assuring that the time and effort already spent are worthwhile. At last, but perhaps most important, is the realization that the school can provide a vital link between the promises and problems of the urban environment. The goal of Education that is Multicultural--people learning to understand and respect each other--holds out the hope for revitalizing our cities.

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[59] Ibid.

ED185222

PERSPECTIVES ON DESEGREGATION/INTEGRATION

Charles D. Moody, Sr.

"The topic of improving the effectiveness of urban education requires critical and careful examination by educators. We need to examine who is defining urban education and how the term is perceived. Care must be taken to determine if the term urban education is used as a code word for Black education."

UD 020528

The final selection of Part One centers on desegregation, presently an issue of paramount importance to urban educators as well as other educators. It is an issue closely tied to the legal and financial aspects of operating urban school systems. This paper, written by Charles D. Moody, Sr., Director of the Program for Educational Opportunity at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, presents in a succinct manner the key dimensions of this complex phenomenon. As Dr. Moody so aptly states, it is critical to differentiate between desegregation and integration since only the latter denotes interaction between equals. Integration should be the goal of our schools while desegregation is one possible vehicle which may move us in that direction. To achieve integration, the issues which must be addressed are community involvement and support for schools, policy analysis and revision, curriculum, staff development, student classification and testing, expectations and school climate, discipline and student rights, extracurricular activities, and, most important, leadership. Dr. Moody argues the necessity of realizing that other concerns of urban educators such as the back to the basics and minimum competency movements are intertwined with the issue of integration and desegregation and these concerns cannot be fully resolved without taking into account the need for diversity.

The topic of improving the effectiveness of urban education requires critical and careful examination by educators. We need to examine who is defining urban education and how the term is perceived. Care must be taken to determine if the term urban education is used as a code word for Black education. I would like to define the term urban education as the education provided students living in the urban centers of our country.

Let me take a few moments to define some other terms that will be central to the development of this paper. Code words are words which have hidden meanings in addition to their traditional meanings. Some examples are: busing, racial balance, social experiments, affirmative action, and back to the basics. In some instances these code words are used to deny students educational opportunity or to justify low academic expectations of these students.

Desegregation can be defined as physical body-mixing and breaking down barriers that have, in the past, separated people. Desegregation is not synonymous with integration. Integration is the interaction between equals: people of equal authority, equal decision-making power, or equal access to resources. We could put segregation and integration at opposite ends of a continuum with desegregation somewhere between them. Yet the terms integration and desegregation have been used as synonyms for so long that they have been accepted as such. The difference between the terms cannot be overemphasized.

If we are to improve the effectiveness of urban schools, then we can no longer allow strategies for failure, as outlined by Ann Stein (Strategies for Failure, Harvard Review [Vol. 41, No. 2], May 1971), to be our operating principles and policies. Stein very clearly shows that American education has two goals: One is to educate some students to assume high status and leadership positions in society while the other is to not educate other students so they will assume low status positions. It is easy to predict which students will be placed in each group. People are grossly mistaken when they say that American education has failed. On the contrary it has been very successful because it has achieved these two polar goals.

We must change these two goals so that we have only one, which should be to allow and encourage all students to develop to their fullest potential in both the cognitive and affective domains.

The Segregation to Integration Continuum

As discussed earlier in this paper, there is a difference between desegregation and integration. If we want to achieve true integration and our goal of equality of opportunity in urban education, we must address several issues.

Community Involvement and Support for Schools

Unfortunately, minority involvement in schools is rarely sought or welcomed until school problems have already begun. Education is a very political arena. Most of the decisions are made without community involvement and often without consideration of the needs of the entire school community.

We need meaningful input from the community. Education-related meetings must be scheduled to be convenient for all segments of the community. We must allow the various segments of the community to be agenda-setters and develop a systematic way of communicating the goals, strengths, and weaknesses of the schools to the community. We must break the "it wasn't like this before they came" syndrome.

Policy Analysis and Revision

Far too often, when schools have desegregated, the district has attempted to operate the schools utilizing the same policies and practices that supported segregation and inequality. Instead, policies must be examined and revised to promote the ideals of integration. Ask questions such as: Is the staff representative of the student population or community at large? Where are new and inexperienced teachers placed? What is the teacher transfer policy? How are promotions and demotions handled? What about recruitment? How are students placed in classes?

Curriculum

We need to examine what is taught. Do curriculum policies underscore the philosophy that diversity is positive? Does multiculturalism permeate the entire system? Have materials, texts, and other instructional aids been examined for racism and sexism or, are books like Junior, a Colored Boy from Charleston and Epaminondas still on the library shelves? What about the noncollege bound students? Are opportunities available for students to acquire skills and knowledge that will enable them to find and keep jobs after graduation?

Staff Development

Are opportunities available and do policies mandate that staff be retrained to interact with a different mixture of students? Are activities in staff development dependent upon federal monies or are they supported by general fund monies?

Student Classification and Testing

How are students placed in classes? Are they resegregated or isolated because of tracking policies? Are test results used to "not teach" some students? What type of counseling is available to students?

Expectations and School Climate

What expectations are held by teachers and administrators? What is the community's perception of the schools? Are some schools seen as not good enough for all students? How are resources allocated in the district? What is the climate of the school? Is it warm and inviting, or does it too reflect the "it was better before they came" syndrome?

Discipline and Student Rights

The "Project for the Fair Administration of Student Discipline" is studying discipline procedures in several school districts. The project staff is discovering that a disproportionate number of minority students are being suspended from schools. How fair are your discipline procedures? What kind of policies do you have?

Students need to know their rights and their corresponding responsibilities. They also need to be aware of the advocacy system for students.

Extracurricular Activities

This area, while being crucial to the effectiveness of a school, is often ignored because the perception is that minorities are getting more than their fair share. This is an inaccurate perception.

An interesting article appeared in the Interracial Books for Children Bulletin. A blind psychologist, Raymond Rainville, discovered that he could tell the race of a player by the announcers' comments during a televised game. He found that:

> The least inferential conclusion which can be derived... is that announcers are building a positive reputation for white players and a comparatively negative reputation for black players. When blacks broke through the line or made a long run, it was seen as the result of luck, good blocking, or other forces outside the player himself. When whites made the same accomplishments, this was interpreted as being due to their own skill, strength, initiative, or other internal qualities. (Interracial Books for Children Bulletin, Vol. 9, No. 1, 1978, 11.)

Rainville suggested that announcers were probably unaware of their bias in interpretation.

What about other activities in schools? Are some activities dominated by Black students and others by White? Are students urged to explore the full range of available activities or is an assumption made that certain activities are not suitable for all students?

Leadership

Studies have shown that where principals exert strong positive leadership qualities, schools are more effective. The converse has also been proven. If groups such as the school board, administration, staff, teachers, and parents publicly support desegregation and equal opportunity, the process toward integration is smoother.

There are several other issues that are of particular importance to us as urban educators. They are conveyed in the code phrases "back to the basics" and "minimum competency."

The concept of back to the basics, an emphasis of the three R's, is for many imcompatible with nonracist and nonsexist curriculum. They believe we must teach students that assimilation is the only way to become a part of the mainstream and that there is only one culture. They believe the idea of different values having equal worth in some way interferes with the teaching of the basics.

In urban schools we must nurture the concept that diversity is a strength to be used as a building block for effective education. There are differences in learning styles, rates of learning, socioeconomic status, aspirations and goals, and cultural backgrounds and experiences that, if respected, understood, and properly utilized, would facilitate teaching the basics. Teaching the basics and multiculturalism can be compatible with teaching in both the cognitive and the affective domain.

107

PART TWO:

PERSPECTIVES ON THE ISSUES

ED185223

IMPROVING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF URBAN SCHOOLS: INSTRUCTION

Edgar G. Epps

"A key factor leading to the failure of children in urban schools is that administrators and teachers do not expect them to learn, and conceive of their function as control, custodial care, and discipline....Schools are most likely to be effective when administrators, teachers, parents, students, and community leaders are working together to develop and maintain a productive learning climate."

UD 020 529

Some of the key issues facing urban schools are finances, various legal mandates for equal opportunity, and cultural diversity. How can urban schools respond to each of these issues? Part Two of the conference proceedings includes several different approaches. Edgar G. Epps, Marshall Field Professor of Urban Education at the University of Chicago, focuses upon the dilemmas facing urban schools at the instructional level. Noting that the low achievement of inner-city students is attributable largely to educational inequities, Dr. Epps chooses to deal specifically with one of the more subtle forms of inequity: the expectations and attitudes of teachers, parents, and students, which work in combination to yield a nonproductive learning climate. This negative climate is preserved by educational politics and policy which tend to reform without making major structural changes in the delivery of educational services and without raising questions about the basic values that have guided the development of American public education. Dr. Epps concludes by demanding more local involvement in educational policy making and suggesting that the instructional strategy of Mastery Learning directly benefit the learning of inner-city youth as well as overcome negative teacher attitudes.

When I began thinking about preparing a paper of effective teaching strategies for inner-city schools, I was reminded of the excellent Jules Pfeiffer cartoon in which a disreputable looking old man glares at the reader and says:

> I used to think I was poor. Then they told me I wasn't poor, I was needy. Then they told me it was self-defeating to think of myself as needy; I was deprived. Then they told me deprived was a bad image. I was underprivileged. Then they told me underprivileged was overused. I was disadvantaged. I still don't have a dime, but I have a great vocabulary.

This statement could serve as a harsh evaluation of the general state of affairs with respect to effective teaching in inner-city schools. Educational responses to demands for improvement have usually resulted in greater changes in language or rhetoric than in policies and practices.

The fact that inner-city students, on the average, score below national norms on most measures of academic achievement is well documented (Coleman et al., 1966; Massey, Scott, & Dornbusch, 1975; Pettigrew, 1964). Although this problem has received considerable attention from researchers, the studies have raised more questions than they have answered. However, there is a tendency for researchers to seek explanations for deficiencies in academic performance by focusing on either deficiencies in the students or discriminatory practices in the educational system and in American society at large.

That the low achievement of inner-city students can be attributed to a large extent to educational inequities is hardly debatable. It is also difficult to deny that the results of many years of discriminatory policies in education, employment, and housing are manifested in the "social unreadiness" (by mainstream standards) found in many inner-city students (Jones, 1962). Whether this apparent deficiency is due to lack of cognitive skills, inadequate motivation, or conflicting values, the question to which educators must address themselves is that of outcomes. No matter how the problem originated, solutions that result in better performance, improved self-images, and stronger motivation for academic achievement are needed.

Expectations: Teachers, Parents, Students

I have presented an argument in another paper for the position that one of the major problems of the nonmainstream child in the classroom is conflicting expectations. The conflict is between the values of the child's home and community and the values of the school as expressed by school personnel (Epps, Note 1). Becker (1952) has pointed out that professionals depend upon society to provide them with clients who meet the standards of their image of the ideal client. Teachers, counselors, and school social workers label as problems those children who fail to exhibit the qualities of the ideal student (Becker, 1952). Educational personnel have been socialized in a system which leads them to accept as behavioral and cultural models, the patterns exhibited by the American descendants of Northern Europeans, referred to as the Anglo-conformist model.

This type of bias led to the development of intervention programs designed to remodel children to make them more compatible with the professional image of the ideal pupil. In a critique of the typical intervention program, Baratz and Baratz (1970) list the following set of assumptions upon which this model is based:

1. that, upon entering school, the Black (Chicano, Puerto Rican, Appalachian) disadvantaged child is unable to learn in the educational environment;

2. that this inability to learn is due to inadequate mothering (socialization); and

3. that the ghetto (lower-class) environment does not provide adequate sensory stimulation for cognitive growth.

The result was often a program designed to "correct" the deficiencies perceived by the professional without regard for the child's cultural experiences. In such a setting, the "deficient" youngster received few rewards because he or she had none of the attributes that are customarily rewarded in American educational institutions. It might be argued, therefore, that we should not be surprised that the child feels powerless in the school situation. It would seem logical to expect the child's sense of inadequacy and anxiety to increase, and self-esteem to decrease with continued failure in school.

A key factor leading to the failure of children in urban schools is that administrators and teachers do not expect them to learn, and conceive of their function as control, custodial care, and discipline. Advocates of community control, decentralization, and other alternatives to the public schools base much of their discontent on two beliefs: (a) that White, Anglo controlled educational systems will not distribute material and personnel resources equitably; and (b) that teacher attitudes and expectations often work to the detriment of minority students in particular and lower socioeconomic status students in general. One way of dealing with these two concerns is meaningful parental involvement in the educational process at both the policy-making and instructional level. If educators are serious about developing effective programs for inner-city students, certain assumptions must be met. First, the structure of public school systems must permit administrators and teachers to organize instruction so that teaching and learning can be maximally effective. This requires flexibility because effective teaching may thrive in a variety of settings; what works for one person or group may not work for another. Second, school systems must allocate resources equitably. This should imply providing greater resources where there is greater need; equal treatment of children who are not equally needy will not provide equality of educational opportunity. Third, school systems must encourage parent and community participation in the educational process. Schools are most likely to be effective when administrators, teachers, parents, students, and community leaders are working together to develop and maintain a productive learning climate.

Results of the 6-year Longitudinal Study of Young Children and Their First School Experiences conducted by Virginia Shipman and her colleagues at Educational Testing Service (ETS) (Children of Poverty, 1978) confirms and underscores a fundamental assumption often overlooked by educators and policy-makers: that children from similar backgrounds exhibit wide ranges in cognitive and social skills and styles, and differ greatly in their academic achievement and ability to cope with the demands of the school as a social system. They found that a combination of circumstances provided the most consistent explanation for the academic performance of Head Start children.

The results of the study strongly support the notion that cognitive, emotional, social, and physical factors affecting a child are so intertwined that only a broad, comprehensive program of services can intervene successfully to counteract the adverse effects of poverty. The authors state:

> Of primary importance was the finding that a warm, supportive home atmosphere combined with a warm, supportive

> school setting creates an upward spiraling in a child's ability to achieve. In other words, cognitive gains are likely to be the greatest when the total ecology of the child is supported at home and in school. . . .
>
> A corollary to that observation is that the quality of either parent-child or teacher-child interactions alone is generally not sufficient for modifying the deleterious effects of poverty that act upon the developing child. Rather, sustained intellectual growth depends on the quality of relationships established between parents, teachers, and child (Children of Poverty, p. 4).

I am convinced that teacher attitudes are extremely important. In spite of the criticisms of the Pygmalion research (Elashoff and Snow, 1971), there are enough unanswered questions to encourage researchers to continue their investigations of the effect of teacher attitudes on pupil achievement and academic climate in schools (Gollub and Sloan, 1978). For example, the research by Brookover, Gigliotti, Henderson, and Schneider (Note 2) on school climate raises some interesting questions about the qualities of schools that lead to teacher satisfaction. Teachers express higher satisfaction in high socioeconomic status White schools than in lower status schools. That is what one would anticipate. However, teachers express higher satisfaction in lower status Black schools than they do in higher status Black schools. What accounts for this apparent reversal in teacher attitudes? Another interesting result indicates that teachers' perceptions about whether pupils can improve differentiates between higher and lower achieving Black urban schools but not between White schools. Again, how does one explain the difference? This research suggests that the relationship of teacher attitudes toward pupil achievement and school climate is more complicated than earlier simplistic research designs had anticipated.

While discussing these attitudinal concerns, I would like to call to your attention a study which suggests that both teacher and student attitudes have a tremendous impact on educational achievement (Massey et al., 1975). The researchers found that minority students maintain generally high self-conceptions despite their relatively low achievement in school. They also have generally high educational aspirations and report that their parents place great value on education. Teachers for the most part were perceived as warm and responsive. But the teachers did not communicate high expectations of effort to these students and they did not provide sufficiently challenging academic work. Thus, the minority students are allowed to kid themselves on their level of academic achievement and have little awareness of their low levels of performance. Interestingly, low achievers reported receiving more praise than did high achievers. It appears that teachers expect little from the students and provide them with few opportunities to learn. One might conclude from this research that paternalism may be replacing overt racism among teachers, but with equally negative results for student achievement.

Politics and Policy

Most efforts of public school systems to improve the quality of education for low income and minority urban pupils have been designed to reform the present system without making major structural changes in the way educational services are delivered and without raising questions about the basic values that have guided the development of American public education for more than a century. Success of such reformist strategies would result in low income and minority children receiving education equivalent to that available to middle-class elite groups. However, success even on these terms would require changes that most educational policy makers are unwilling to consider seriously.

Educational decision making has been typically a middle-class activity. Board members, professional educators, and the business and political leaders who have dominated policy making usually expect schools to reinforce and reward middle-class values and lifestyles. They are unlikely to be sympathetic to proposals that will reward a different set of values or different lifestyles. However, it is this very focus on middle-class values and styles, exacerbated by low expectations, that causes the lower-class child to experience failure and to develop negative attitudes about school which result in alienation and subsequent loss of motivation. If schools are to become effective learning environments for all children, we must have educational leaders who will function as child advocates who can persuade school boards and educational administrators that change is necessary and inevitable.

All bureaucratic institutions resist change. School systems are no exception. Any radically different program, no matter how effective, will be viewed as a threat by some segment of the educational hierarchy. Educators believe that professional reputations, promotions, salaries, jobs, and power are at stake. Change is most palatable when it is presented in a package which includes potential gains for everyone. However, more often than not, improving the quality of education for minority children is perceived by Anglo-Whites as an exchange in which Blacks or other minorities gain while working- or middle-class Whites lose. Educational policy makers must be persuaded that American society cannot afford an educational system that fails to educate a large segment of the urban population.

Of course, this implies that one of the necessary conditions for developing effective schools is a shift in the priorities of policy makers. This requires an increased political sophistication on the part of all of us who are concerned about the effectiveness of public schools.

Increasingly, programmatic changes in public schools have resulted from federal and state initiative rather than from the efforts of local school boards. I think it is reasonably accurate to state that most of the innovative programs throughout the country have been stimulated by federal funds (educators in California and Michigan might want to argue the point). Since local boards too often find themselves overwhelmingly concerned with maintaining the status quo, placating various factions, and serving the interests of local businesses and the most powerful political groups, there is a need for minority educators to become more effective political advocates at the state and federal levels. Recent examples from Chicago can help illustrate the roles played by federal and state agencies as well as the ways local boards can circumvent effective use of funds provided by such agencies. These examples also point out the need for increased minority representation on boards of education and in legislative bodies.

The first example concerns the issue of desegregation. If we accept the general premise that equitable distribution of personnel and material resources is more likely to occur in a desegregated system than in a segregated system, desegregation must be viewed as an important educational reform within the general framework of equal educational opportunity. (I will not in this paper enter the debate on the impact of desegregation on achievement or affect toward school or peers.) Chicago has moved very slowly on desegregating faculty as well as students. Neither the Board of Education nor the Superintendent approached the task with much enthusiasm. Only when the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare made it clear that it was serious about taking steps to cut off millions of dollars of federal funds was there sufficient support from Board members to push a reluctant administrative staff to develop a plan that would make a serious attempt to eliminate racially identifiable patterns of teacher and administrator assignment. Pressure from the Illinois State Board of Education was required to initiate serious considerations of pupil desegregation. Even with the pressure from the state, however, the Chicago Board of Education and its Superintendent failed to develop a plan that would come close to meeting the guidelines of the Illinois State Board of Education. The small number of Black Board members (3 of 11) and the generally weak political position of Blacks in Illinois suggest to me that when it is time to cut off state funds for Chicago, power politics will prevail. Chicago will be permitted to implement a meaningless voluntary desegregation plan that will have little effect on the distribution of pupils within the city. That the federal government has not intervened in the pupil desegregation issue raises other political questions. My major point in raising the issue of desegregation here, however, is to illustrate that unless powerless minorities enlist the aid of federal and state agencies, they can be ignored by local policy makers. Even this aid can be subverted if the White majority can mobilize enough political power, as is the case in Chicago.

The second example illustrates how federal funds can be used to develop effective programs, and how local administrators can dilute the effectiveness of the program. The program in question is the Child-Parent Center program. These centers take low-income children from the age of 3 or 4 and work intensively with them and their parents. The original centers were 5-year programs for children up to the third grade or occasionally higher. Elements of the program included:

1. direct parent involvement in the center program and in activities designed to meet parent needs;

2. elimination of social and health problems that may interfere with learning;

3. use of a structured reading, language, and mathematics program (DISTAR); and

4. a structured, consistent, long-term approach (Stenner and Mueller, 1973; Fuerst, 1977).

The staff includes classroom teachers, teacher aides, home economists, adjustment teachers, teacher-nurses, assistant principals, head teachers, and speech therapists. Class sizes were approximately 15 in the preschool and 22 in the primary grades. The original centers were extremely successful by traditional standards. That is, they took children from the most poverty stricken areas of the city and provided them with an educational program that enabled them to score above the national average on a standardized reading achievement test in second grade, achieving a grade equivalent of 3.1 compared to a national average of 2.8. The one school which continued the program through sixth grade demonstrated that achievement equal to the national norms could be maintained through sixth grade as well. Fuerst (1977, p. 19) states that graduates of the 5-year child-parent centers who have located at other schools in seventh and eighth grades continue performing close to national norms, losing only 1 month per year. Thus, the 5-year or longer Child-Parent Center has been proven effective. It seems clear that it should be continued in this form without diluting the quality of the program.

In 1977, instead of maintaining the 5-year program, administrators decided that more children could be reached, thereby providing better service to needy children, by expanding the number of child-parent centers and eliminating all but the first 2 years of the program. Although there were protests by some board members and many community leaders, the staff prevailed. Thus, in spite of widespread evidence from evaluation of other preschool programs that 2 years of preschool education, unless followed by carefully developed supportive programs in early elementary school, will not be enough to sustain achievement for low-income children when they leave the program, expansion was deemed preferable to maintenance of quality. One argument for expansion was that children were no longer "neediest" after 2 years of preschool because they were now performing at grade level while others who had not experienced this program were performing below grade level. Other arguments concerned interpretation of federal and state guidelines for using Title I funds. There was some confusion as to whether or not Title I funds could be used to maintain programs if the children were performing at grade level regardless of the fact that they were from families demonstrated to be economically disadvantaged. The rationale was that the funds should be used to aid the educationally disadvantaged rather the economically disadvantaged. Low income children who were performing at grade level were no longer considered to be educationally disadvantaged. The fact that their performance would very likely drop back to the level of typical low income urban children without the support of such a program in grades one and two failed to change the decision of the administrators responsible for program policy. When it was suggested that local funds be used to continue the program through grade three, budgetary shortages were cited.

The third example is directly related to the budgetary issue cited above. Chicago public schools receive almost half of their total revenue from state appropriations. The funding formula currently in use allows a district having a high percentage of disadvantaged school children to gain a sizable bonus in state aid. According to estimates for 1976-77, such children account for 43% of Chicago's total school enrollment. Their presence contributed $173 million to the local share of appropriations, a bonus which constitutes 44% of the district's income from the state. The state law which authorized these funds makes the receipt of this special bonus contingent upon a plan by the local district to use the bonus for the "improvement of instruction." Unfortunately, the legislature did not clearly specify that the money should be earmarked exclusively for economically disadvantaged children. Thus, the typical practice in Chicago and other districts is to include these funds in the general budget to be spent on all children throughout the district. Black board members and their supporters have vigorously protested this practice, arguing that the legislative intent was to provide additional funds for schools serving economically disadvantaged children although the language of the legislation is vague on this point. The preference of the majority board members and the superintendent is to continue treating these funds as general operating revenue to be spent throughout the system for a variety of purposes. These special funds could have been used to maintain the child-parent centers through third grade as some board members recommended. It is my belief that this is precisely the type of program that the legislation was designed to support. However, without more political influence, present policies will be difficult to change. Change would require either increasing the number of minority board members at the local level, or increasing the influence of minority political leaders in the state legislature.

During the 1978 legislative session, changes sponsored by a Black Chicago legislator have clarified the intent of the legislation. About 55% of the funds generated by the poverty formula must now be distributed among individual schools according to their enrollments of children from low income families.

This exploration of the relation of politics to educational reform is not meant to be a diversion from the theme of effective programs for urban schools. Rather, the purpose has been to enumerate some of the institutional constraints that make implementing effective programs difficult even when the quality of the programs is not in doubt. I will now discuss another program that has excellent potential for success if institutional constraints can be overcome.

Mastery Learning in Chicago

Mastery learning theory was developed by Professor Benjamin Bloom of The University of Chicago (Bloom, 1976). The approach has been applied to reading instruction on a small scale in the Chicago public schools for 3 years. An evaluation of the 1976-77 program in 10 schools conducted by the School Board's Department of Research and Evaluation showed that pupils taught with mastery learning techniques and materials gained 7-1/2 months during 7 months of instruction, while a control group gained only 4-1/2 months on the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (Katims, Smith, Steele, & Wick, Note 3). During 1977-78 the program has been expanded to 70 schools. Evaluation of the 1977-78 programs is still in process.

One of the more exciting aspects of the mastery learning strategy is its potential for changing teachers' attitudes and expectations. Mastery learning is based on the assumption that nearly all children can learn what only the best students now learn. However, they must be given additional help and time. In other words, this is a model in which aptitude is defined in terms of the amount of time and effort required to learn something rather than in terms that imply a limit on what a person is capable of learning.

An inservice education program based on mastery learning instructional methods was introduced in Chicago public schools in 1977-78. Financed by a grant from a private foundation, inservice training of over 100 teachers from both elementary and secondary public schools was provided at The University of Chicago by Professor Bloom and his students. Through this program, teachers learned the philosophy of mastery learning and techniques for implementing the mastery learning strategies. For their participation in this inservice program which involved 10 3-hour workshop sessions, teachers were given graduate credit equivalent to 3 credit hours. One of the most important aspects of the workshops was the development, by the teachers, of materials for use with basic texts which include the corrective procedures that are fundamental to the mastery learning strategy. The strategy is described as follows:

> In implementing these particular instructional strategies and techniques, a teacher usually teaches a learning unit in whatever manner is found to be appropriate. A learning unit under mastery learning methods is usually the equivalent of one to two weeks of instructional time. In many cases, a chapter of the basic text used for instruction might be considered a learning unit. It is assumed that the instruction will take place in a group setting where one teacher has charge of twenty or thirty students.
>
> After instruction covering the learning unit, students are given a short diagnostic progress or "formative" test (Bloom, Hastings, and Madaus, 1971), covering the important concepts contained in the unit. Scores on these formative tests indicate to both teachers and students which concepts have been learned well or mastered, and which require additional work or remediation. Students are then directed to various corrective procedures to help correct these learning difficulties.

In the particular program involved in this research, after corrective work, students take a second form of the formative test. Scores on this alternate form of the first formative test indicate the degree to which the corrective work has been successful in remediating learning difficulties. This corrective work is the critical element in the mastery learning format for unless students can be motivated to correct their particular learning difficulties, mastery learning strategies are likely to be no more successful than other, more traditional, methods.

According to mastery learning theory, when learning difficulties are identified and corrected over a series of learning units, approximately eighty percent of students in a class can attain a level of achievement which under more traditional methods of instruction is attained by only about twenty percent of students (Guskey, Note 4).

It seems reasonable to assume that positive changes in teacher attitudes will result from positive changes in student learning outcomes. It is believed that teachers' perceptions of themselves as teachers and greater self-confidence will accompany increased learning on the part of their students. Positive changes in student learning outcomes should also be associated with more positive attitudes about teaching and more positive attitudes toward the students. In other words, teachers should become more interested and excited about their jobs as teachers. If the program is as successful as anticipated, significant gains in student achievement will be accompanied by improved morale for teachers and administrators, and renewed faith in the public schools on the part of parents and the community. An evaluation of this experimental program should be completed during 1978.

Conclusion

Effective teaching may be viewed in terms of outcomes (on performance measures, self-concept measures, self-evaluation of competence measures, etc.), in terms of processes (how the teacher interacts with the pupils in the classroom), or in terms of the relationship of processes to outcomes. Most critics of urban schools stress achievement outcomes. Others include attitudes and personal characteristics as well.

In my view, effective teaching recognizes cultural differences, but accepts them as legitimate forms of group experience which can be used to foster talent, creativity, and individuality. Our ideal should be classrooms in which each child can develop as an individual, according to his or her capacities and desires.

Educators will achieve desired outcomes if they are attentive first to effective processes such as the child-parent centers and the mastery learning strategy. These processes will make it possible for students to acquire the skills and competence needed to cope with the demands of a rapidly changing technological society. My emphasis on making the

the classroom a supportive environment is not intended as a plea for "social promotion." Giving the low achiever lower goals only makes the self-fulfilling prophecy come true. Effective teaching is based upon rewarding efforts to perform the required tasks. It is important not only that classroom rewards be associated with effort, but that accurate feedback and corrective procedures are available and utilized. Effective teachers expect the children to work hard; they expect the children to learn. Effective teaching encourages the child to develop a desire to become competent. This involves presenting tasks in a manner which is understandable to the children. We cannot expect children to work enthusiastically if they don't know what they are expected to do. To the extent that it is possible, a teacher should present each child with work which will be challenging but which is not beyond his or her capacity. The mark of ineffective teaching is consistent presentation of tasks which are either beyond or below the capacity of the children.

Finally, effective teaching involves high expectations. It is important for children to have teachers who expect something from them. This is one way that teachers can show they care about their students. Raising teacher expectations may do much to improve the effectiveness of their efforts. (See Havighurst and Levine, 1977, for additional discussion of effective programs.)

I will conclude on a pessimistic note. The institutions of our society are designed to maintain established patterns of dominance and subordination among competing groups. Since the schools mirror the total society, we might ask if it is reasonable to expect them to eliminate racial and ethnic inequality in America. Diana Slaughter (1974) has developed the thesis that school curricula and evaluation of those curricula contribute to the progressive alienation of Black children. Who controls the schools may be more important in the long run than the learning model upon which the curriculum is based. Benjamin Bloom's mastery learning theory proposes that 90% of all learners can master the typical curriculum at a high level of achievement. Pupils will vary in the time they require to achieve mastery but whether they learn to master or not depends upon: (a) whether they are prepared to spend the required time and energy they need to devote to the task, and (b) whether they are allowed to do so. The former is related to motivation; the latter depends upon the structural organization of the class and school (Bloom, 1974).

If schools were to become as effective as proponents of mastery learning believe they can, how would American society react to a flood of competent and mobility-conscious job seekers? Spady (1974, p. 114) concludes that "The real question to be asked of mastery learning may not be whether it can successfully produce a generation of competent and literate young people, but whether society, with its current economic structures, value orientations, and social arrangements, could actually tolerate them." Levin (1974, p. 84) contends that "schools will continue to show unequal results as long as there exist large inequities in the production, occupational, and earnings hierarchy." Thus, the ills of the schools reflect the chronic sickness of the larger society. It would be unrealistic to expect innovative curricula, desegregation, or other reforms in educational practice to have a major long-term impact on educational outcomes unless there are major changes in other social institutions which result in changes in the power positions of competing groups. (See, for example, Ogbu, 1977.)

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IMPROVING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF URBAN SCHOOLS:

TEACHER EDUCATION

LaMar P. Miller

"A prescription to cure the ills of American educational institutions requires the retraining of teachers, counselors, and administrators. While there is a need for additional research and curriculum development, the immediate need is to integrate existing knowledge about teaching and learning into the curricula to begin the process of bringing disadvantaged youngsters to a level of functioning commensurate with their abilities."

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The following paper by LaMar Miller, Program Director for Secondary Education at New York University, describes how inservice programs can increase the effectiveness of urban schools by upgrading the quality of school programs for children. Dr. Miller points out that although social forces are partly responsible for the problems confronting urban schools, it is necessary to use existing knowledge to improve education under present conditions. Many problems of secondary education arise from dealing with both adolescents and adults in the school and the community who feel unable to cope with the education of young people in urban environments. A framework for dealing with adolescents should be based on both cognitive and affective components, though many urban programs emphasize the affective at the expense of the cognitive. Developing field-based inservice programs for both new and experienced teachers that operate within laws, district rules, and collective bargaining agreements is not easy. Dr. Miller concludes by outlining the characteristics of an inservice program which would improve teacher effectiveness by helping teachers work under conditions much different from those for which they were trained and by helping them to feel less isolated in their work within urban schools.

The topic of improving the effectiveness of urban schools from a teacher education perspective cannot be discussed without pointing out the shifting emphasis from preservice to inservice education. Nor can we overlook the fact that, in general, the majority of urban youngsters do not and have not received high quality education. Improving urban schools will ultimately depend on two crucial factors. The first is our ability to design effective inservice education programs, and the second is our ability to upgrade the quality of school programs for students in urban areas. In the case of inservice education, the nature and scope of the problems to be faced, the implications of such problems for program development, and guidelines for local inservice program development are almost wholly unknown or lacking. There are few precedents and existing frameworks to offer guidance and legitimacy in concept, organization, design, and support. Improving the quality of education in urban schools, however, is a different matter. We know what quality education means, because there are schools in this nation which produce students who are among the best in the world. Schools in urban areas have not shared proportionately in this achievement. These two related factors provide the basis for this discussion.

Inservice education in this discussion means the professional development of teachers and other educational personnel. The fundamental purpose of inservice education is the improvement of educational programs for students. Inservice programs for the professional development of educational personnel should, therefore, be designed to upgrade the quality of school programs for students. In discussing these two related issues in terms of the urban scene, it is important to note some major concerns of urban educators.

The failure of schools to adequately educate the majority of urban youth is derived largely from problems which beset our entire society, but which afflict educational institutions more immediately and severely. Among the causes of education problems in urban areas are the persistent effects of social and economic deprivation and the effects of extraordinarily high unemployment levels for urban youngsters. The fact that the effects of negative economic, social, and psychological forces on the development of urban minority youngsters has been devastating, is well documented (Clark & Clark, 1950; Roberts, 1978; Spurlock, 1973; Task Force on Employment Problems of Black Youth, 1977). Among the more obvious behavioral symptoms of this devastation are low academic achievement, acting-out behavior, and withdrawal from the school system. These behavioral symptoms reflect mental health as well as education problems, and as such, cannot be alleviated by uni-dimensional approaches such as improving education methods.

During the past two decades, there has been a multitude of programs for disadvantaged youngsters such as Head Start, for preschool children; Youth Employment Programs under Title III of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA); and various youth advocacy projects which address the problems of the drug-abuser and ex-offender. At the secondary school level, alternative programs have sought to motivate disadvantaged youth by making the school curriculum more relevant to the culture of the students. More recently, the schools are responding to another swing of the pendulum by emphasizing the teaching of basic skills. But few programs have focused concurrently on the affective and cognitive needs of inner-city youth, and even fewer programs have addressed mental health aspects of the problem. Thus, most responses to the needs of inner-city youth have yielded few positive results because educators have sought simplistic solutions to extraordinarily complex socio-psychological problems.

While it is clearly desirable to alleviate the social forces which affect maladaptive behavior in many youths for immediate instructional purposes, the present issue is how educators can maximize the entire range of student abilities. A prescription to cure the ills of American educational institutions requires the retraining of teachers, counselors, and administrators. While there is a need for additional research and curriculum development, the immediate need is to integrate existing knowledge about teaching and learning into the curricula and begin to bring disadvantaged young people to a level of functioning commensurate with their abilities.

The Problems of Secondary Education

A brief examination of the situation at the secondary school level illustrates the preceding comments. Educational reform has been minimal partly because the solutions are less obvious than the problems. Compared with elementary pupils, adolescents arrive at school with their interests and values more clearly formed, are less susceptible to the teacher's influence, and are subject to a wider range of influence outside the classroom from their peer culture as well as from adults and the mass media. The tremendous physiological and psychological changes which are occurring during adolensence further complicate the teaching and learning process; hence, educational reform on the secondary level appears illusory. There seem to be, however, a few major categories in which the schools fail to adopt current theory, thus depriving inner-city youth of the benefit of intelligent experimentation, if not intelligent reform.

There is a large store of information about adolescent growth and development, yet schools rarely draw upon this information to address the unique characteristics of this age group. Today's adolescent is precocious in some areas of maturation, compared to adolescents of previous generations. Clearly, today's youth exhibit precocity in worldly sophistication and sexual behavior (Chess, Thomas, & Cameron, 1976; Graham, Note 1), and there is considerable evidence that intellectual precocity potentially exists but is rarely exploited in these young learners. While individual differences among children reach their peak during adolescence, there is a sequential pattern of development common to adolescence (Piaget, 1964), and certain forms of behavior are observable in most adolescents. For example, most adolescents are rebellious against family requirements and prohibitions, are anxious and insecure, seek reassurance and acceptance primarily from their peers, and are inclined to form rigid social groups or cliques. Added to their problems, which are largely a function of physical and social maturation, the adolescent must also confront individual personal problems which are yet unresolved and have been carried over from childhood. Adolescents are thus ensnared in a web of problems which frequently precludes the exploitation of their cognitive potential.

Unlike the European conception of secondary education, the traditional concept of the American secondary school suggests highly diverse institutions, each providing a unique approach to the task of educating youth. The fact is, however, that the organizational and instructional patterns of American secondary schools are startlingly similar, and what exists is a monolithic system which has as one of its major characteristics the ethnocentrism of a White middle class. This ethnocentrism is reflected in the cognitive and affective curricula. Most history, literature, and science curricula trace the development and achievements of European culture while frequently omitting concurrent and often seminal developments and achievements of non-European cultures. Illustrative material in all content areas supports sex and racial stereotypes by omission or commission. Thus, in spite of all the exhortations about curriculum bias, little change has occurred in the secondary school curricula. The affective curriculum, often called "the unwritten curriculum," contributes significantly to this ethnocentrism. Much of the affective curricula is dictated by assumptions which are frequently erroneous: that all students have sufficient time and suitable facilities to do homework, that poverty is positively correlated with low intelligence; that "good" behavior is positively correlated with high intelligence; and that ability to contribute to and participate in extracurricular activities is positively correlated with high academic achievement. In addition, some studies of teacher attitudes strongly suggest a generally negative orientation toward minority children, particularly Blacks. Thus, the message which the inner-city student receives is plain: The school is nonaccepting and punitive if one is not White middle class.

There is no dearth of theories about learning, yet there is little evidence that schools employ any theory or any systematic approach to teaching based on learning theory. Common to all learning theories is the notion that cognitive abilities are only inherent capacities in human beings; their actualization is invariably dependent upon adequate environmental stimulation. In spite of this knowledge, the traditional high school relies on didactic teaching, memorization, and recall as cornerstones of the teaching-learning process. The current and highly publicized issue of young people graduating from high school without attaining linguistic and computational competence adequate for business, industry, and college, is sufficient evidence that the high schools are not providing appropriate environment stimulation.

According to Popper (1967), the entire population of early adolescents are, in the normal course of personality development, disadvantaged by a temporary psychological disorientation, regardless of their ethnic-social distinction. The schools add to this psychological disorientation in several ways. First, they do not provide the needed protective intervention and support mechanism prescribed by the literature on adolescent growth and development. Second, the cognitive curriculum is not selected on the basis of any current theory about what knowledge is important, nor is it based on any theory about the nature and structure of human abilities. Last, the affective curriculum reinforces or enlarges those adolescents' normal insecurities, as well as those added insecurities which are a function of being poor or racially different in a society which is predominately White middle class.

The mental health of our nation's youth is essential to both the moral and social well being of society. In a society which is ecologically minded, we are nonetheless wasteful of our most precious resource--our youth. It is a moral imperative that this waste must cease. Furthermore, there is a social imperative which must direct us if morality fails to persuade. Today's social failure may become tomorrow's social catastrophe if we continue to miseducate a substantial number of our youth. As education and mental health professionals and as lay persons, we must take responsibility for our institutions which, for better or for worse, are an extension of our social goals.

Adult Involvement

A second issue has to do with the development of an organizational plan which includes the participation of adults who are most involved in the education of youngsters. Humbled by oppressive poverty in a nation of wealth, urban citizens from low income areas have been betrayed by the American dream and disillusioned by the institutions designed to serve them. Parents, often influenced by their own unhappy school experiences, regard their community's schools with ambivalence. While they still cling to a belief that the school holds the key to their children's future, they are distressed by reports of classroom disorder and disheartened by the record of low achievement.

To voice their concerns, members of these communities need a forum where they may express to educators their views about the quality of their children's education. They want to participate in the formulation of school policies and to be regarded as partners in the educational process. And when they assume leadership in school affairs, they not only add meaning and direction to their own lives but often become the school's staunchest allies.

Before community demands for quality education can be satisfied, however, there must be changes within the school system itself, particularly with respect to inservice training. Such a statement may be made without attacking the competence of the present staff. The conditions under which teachers now work, particularly in the inner city, are very different from those for which they were trained. The consequences of massive budget cuts--increased class size, reduction in auxiliary personnel, and shifting teaching assignments call for new talents. The learning and behavior problems presented by some of their pupils demand specialized teaching skills. Adapting to the lifestyles of children from low income families requires new insights. Inclusion of handicapped children in a least threatening environment requires new skills. The retrenchment of younger teachers means that those who remain cannot learn the newer techniques from colleagues whose training is more recent.

Perhaps even more important, inner-city teachers, overwhelmed by the enormity of the social and economic problems surrounding them, experience a sense of helplessness, a feeling that their efforts, however intense, can have little real impact. As they work to improve the welfare of their students, they need to feel that the community is their ally.

But these teachers are isolated from the community. They rarely live there. Efforts they make to establish relationships with parents are restricted by policies which discourage home visits and close school buildings with the 3:00 p.m. dismissal. Unable to learn about the children's families through interaction with them, teachers are susceptible to second-hand reports which overemphasize family pathology. These misconceptions further isolate teachers from the community.

Teachers also feel abandoned by the very institutions which trained them, charging that professors speak only to idealized educational settings which bear little resemblance to their own classrooms. Teachers are insisting that their instructors understand the conditions under which they work. Rejecting a passive student role, they want to take charge of their own professional education, outlining what they want to know rather than following a prescribed curriculum.

Finally, teachers often feel isolated even in their own schools. They are members of a highly bureaucratized system which sometimes abuses their sense of individuality and leaves them feeling powerless to influence policies that deeply affect their professional lives.

They receive little help from administrators, who, pressed by other problems, have all but abdicated their roles as educational leaders. Teachers must lead curriculum reform; they must coordinate resources among their schools; they must institutionalize innovative programs. In short, teachers create a better educational climate. How can they spearhead educational change when their energies are so absorbed by the intense pressures of day-to-day operations?

Yet the record of low academic achievement speaks for itself. The quality of institutions must be improved and teachers must be supported in discharging their serious responsibility. They must be part of a system which helps them establish contact with the community, helps them strengthen ties with their colleagues, and which regards them as thinking, competent professionals. This system must be able to offer sustained, consistent support.

A Framework for Quality Education

Permit me now to suggest a framework for improving the quality of education of urban youngsters by focusing on adolescents. In theory, most programs for urban youth have had great promise; in practice, most programs have had perhaps more weaknesses than strengths. The goal of any good program for urban youth resides in its potential to reclaim those young people who have been lost.

We can assume that the mental health of our citizens is vital to the functioning and continuation of society. Furthermore, we can assume that mental health, as defined in our society, requires conformity within limits in order that each citizen is free to express himself or herself within limits. Thus, our educational institutions, for the benefit of the individual and of society, ought to concurrently teach conformity and expressive behavior. The relationship between conformity and individual expression, and the benefits of these two behaviors, needs to be taught. Most education programs have sought to bring about conformity at the expense of expressive behavior; a handful of programs have sought to develop expressive behavior at the expense of conformity. Few programs have developed both these complementary behaviors in youth so that their limits, benefits, and relationship are manifestly understood. Programs offering a balance between these two behaviors have great potential for redirecting urban minority youth.

A critical shortcoming of many urban programs is that affective objectives are pursued and achieved at the expense of cognitive objectives, or conversely, cognitive objectives are pursued at the expense of affective objectives. It is crucial that the cognitive components do not become the weak link. Without the congitive component, a program can achieve success only with those students who already possess basic academic skills. Many students who have coping skills but only rudimentary academic skills complete a program and earn a high school diploma. Some of these same students are even accepted in and complete college degree programs. However, for those students who do not possess rudimentary academic skills, a program is unlikely to succeed for three reasons. First, the payoff for affective behavior such as controlling oneself and viewing education as a positive goal is the improved performance in cognitive areas which leads to attaining aspirations. Second, it is preposterous to teach probelm-solving skills without concurrently teaching basic skills and substantive content. Thinking cannot be taught without some content to think about, without reading skills to read the content, and without computational skills necessary to verify by quantification. Last, when subject classes provide largely form and not substance, students may not be able to discern that the problem resides within the school and not within the learner and, therefore, blame themselves. Thus, inability to take discernible cognitive strides erodes self-esteem.

In general, the weakness in cognitive components is derived from two sources: policies and practices of boards of education and a lack of understanding of the cognitive component by administrators and teachers. In some cases a large percentage of the teaching staff is new to the school each year. Furthermore, many of these teachers are charged with teaching subjects in which they have little, if any, academic training and in which they are not licensed by the Board of Education. For example, mathematics is frequently taught by teachers licensed in high school English or social studies and not by individuals trained in mathematics. Often, teachers are not reassigned to the school for the following year because they have failed to pass the appropriate high school test; this happens in spite of the fact that they are originally assigned by the Board and known to be teaching in an area and at a level in which they were not licensed. This practice imposes severe restrictions on the quality of the teaching staff because most staff cannot benefit from any long-term experience.

The other source of weakness in the cognitive component stems from a lack of teaching and learning philosophy. Most administrators and teachers do not view the cognitive and affective components as being highly interdependent. School personnel, for example, might employ models and theories that appear to offer students more possibility of successful experience in the cognitive area. The theories and the methods of individuals such as Benjamin Bloom (1976), hold great promise for urban education primarily because they are based on students' strengths rather than deficits. Most approaches are based on assumptions that students could obtain a high level of learning if instruction is approached sensitively and systematically, if students are helped when and where they have difficulty, if they are given sufficient time to achieve mastery, and if there is clear criterion of what constitutes mastery. For example, Bloom's theories incorporate student characteristics, instruction, and learning outcomes. The characteristics believed to be crucial to determine student learning are: (a) Cognitive Entry Behavior, the prerequisite held to be necessary for the learning task in which instruction is to be provided; and (b) The Affective Entry Characteristics, the student's motivation to learn the new learning tasks. The instructional variable of greatest importance is believed to be the quality of instruction: the extent to which the cues, practices, and reinforcement of the learning are appropriate to the needs of the learner. Cognitive components could be improved substantially if they were based on Bloom's theories and conformed with Bloom's assertions about the affective consequence of school achievements and the student's perception of the adequacy of school learning. "The practice of looking at academic problems as separate from personal and social problems has become dysfunctional; affective and cognitive domains are different aspects of the same mental events" (Miller & Fox, 1977).

Teachers must not be blamed for their inability to effect changes in cognitive behavior because, as suggested previously, the source of much of this inability is external to the school. Administrators and teachers, however, must recognize that they cannot effectively deceive students into believing that cognitive changes will automatically occur as a result of affective changes, for the following reasons (Miller & Fox, Note 2). First, they must realize that if students of normal ability are not making reasonable progress in cognitive areas then there must be some shortcomings in the teaching process. Second, most students are aware that their ability to negotiate the system is highly dependent on a few critical learning skills. Last, but equally important, administrators and teachers must realize that all the effort to implant positive feelings about self-worth and ability to help negotiate a system which is inherently unfair, will be diminished or eliminated if the students do not receive positive feedback about their ability.

Systematic Self-renewal Through Inservice Training

The shift from preservice to inservice education has produced new problems for teacher education. Establishing programs that are primarily field-based and that involve both neophytes and experienced teachers is not an easy task. When the setting of the program shifts from the campus to the school community, a variety of political and social factors must be taken into account. Moreover, there are numerous laws and school district administrative rules to consider that relate directly to school programs and inservice education. In many cases, these laws and rules impose specific curriculum and program requirements on teachers and schools. The new law PL-142 affecting the education of handicapped children is an example. Additional factors that affect inservice education include collective bargaining in the form of various contractual agreements and certification rules which influence decisions made by teachers on inservice programs.

Teachers are also a significant new variable. More teachers view their occupation as a career rather than a stepping stone, and average age and levels of experience are increasing. Teachers are also highly organized and their organization makes them capable of exerting considerable influence on school programs and policies.

All these factors suggest that the designers of new professional development programs for preservice and inservice teachers must address the following general needs (Edelfelt, 1977):

1. creating an organizational structure for policy making and operation that will reflect a partnership among the institutions and agencies directly involved;

2. developing a means for shared decision making among the responsible participants, with special attention to the input of teachers;

3. relating graduate-credit systems to off-campus, field-based programs and financing college or university participation when credit accumulation is not appropriate or relevant;

4. extending and recasting a straightforward program of teacher education into a field-based program of curriculum development and instructional improvement at the school and in the college or university, and engaging all participants in learner-consultant-innovator-evaluator roles in a consortium of professional educators for the advancement of student learning.

One possibility for improving the effectiveness of urban schools is developing and implementing a plan for systematic self-renewal of schools through inservice training. Underlying this are the following assumptions about organizations, applied here to school systems.

An interdependent relationship exists among the schools within a school system. The schools become interdependent with the realization that they are drawing on the same resources and can increase their own potential for growth and development. Interdependency, then, benefits the entire system. It is dysfunctional for schools to work in isolation.

The school system and its environment, the community, are also interdependent. The community contributes its children, the financial support, and other resources necessary for school operations. In return, the school graduates young adults prepared to enter business and industry or higher education. These outside institutions can provide feedback to the school system concerning the quality of its graduates. Such feedback is essential for the schools' self-assessment process, culminating in program revision and staff retraining. Responsiveness and adaptability to environmental realities are signs of the schools' well-being and insure viability.

The relationships between the school system and its environment and among the schools within the system break down over time. As the system continues its operation, problems arise and criticism from the outside is likely to occur. When resistance to change and defensive attitudes are the response to this situation, entropy results. Then the administration often fails to provide the assessment and redirection necessary for the system to maintain its viability. Instead, it extends its efforts in obtaining resources needed to run the system, however marginally, and in defending it against attack from outsiders--the community, city, state, and federal governments. The result is an increasingly closed system, resistant to outside criticism and suggestions for improvement.

At the same time, the interdependence of the schools within the system begins to deteriorate. Subject to the criticism of their communities, schools fail to receive adequate support from the central system. Self-preservation assumes priority. Instead of providing needed mutual assistance, the schools compete for resources and what are regarded as the preferred programs, students, and staff. Outsiders, whether other schools, the community, or the university, are accepted only to the extent that they are seen as serving the interests of the school.

To insure the viability of the system, a process must be established to gauge the adequacy of the school's performance and to stimulate corresponding development activities. Frequent breakdown in programmatic and organizational operations combined with a tendency to blame the community or other outsiders for these inadequacies attests to the failure of the school to carry out this function successfully. An adequate program of needs-assessment must be developed which includes provision for staff retraining and program revision. These efforts are best directed to program effectiveness rather than staff competency.

This assessment-development component must be in the hands of those who are its subjects. Ideally, I would argue for an internal monitoring unit monitored by an outside agency. Such an arrangement would offset any tendency for internal controls to be overprotective of the system. In view of the schools' normal resistance to outsiders, however, this option may not be realistic. Instead, we recommend an arrangement which places primary responsibility for assessment-development functions with the staff themselves. It is they who, on the basis of daily experience, best understand the system's needs and problems. Moreover, they have a pool of knowledge and experience which can be profitably shared. Recommendations made by the staff are likely to be compatible with the system. One would anticipate, therefore, less resistance to their implementation.

Relevant outside agencies must also have a role in the assessment-development process. Parochialism and defensiveness are distinct dangers when an insular staff has complete control over its own evaluation and training. To offset this possible disadvantage, relevant outside agencies, the community, and teacher training institutions must also participate in the process, opening the system to outside influence but not control. The integrity of the system is thus preserved, objective assessments are feasible, and an external perspective is provided. This arrangement, by reducing the tendency of the system toward entropy, increases the likelihood that schools will remain productive over time. But this arrangement also must be continually reexamined and redesigned. Like all systems, it too is subject to entropy.

An organizational structure based on the above assumptions will support an inservice training program for self-renewal that is durable and replicable. A primary objective for improving urban schools should be to develop a well-integrated network of inservice training units characterized by the following features:

1. Autonomous functioning of inservice units including budgetary discretion;

2. Formalized opportunities for input from the community and other outside agencies;

3. Teacher participation in design and operation of inservice training;

4. School-based training conducted primarily by individuals with expertise and experience including teachers; and

5. Assessment of the training program by teachers without fear of sanctions.

The training system incorporating these provisions could be planned, developed, and tested for effectiveness with the intent of its becoming permanently institutionalized. Initially, the inservice system could be organized by a special staff who would seek the most effective mode of operation. The system should be developed over time primarily by those it is intended to serve; however, a broad outline can be presented here. The major network components are described below.

School-Based Inservice Training Units. Within each school, a small group of teachers representing the major programs in the school and one administrator would meet at least monthly to:

1. Establish a communication network within the school,

2. Identify inservice training needs, utilizing a needs assessment,

3. Develop a strategy for determining which training needs should be emphasized, and

4. Develop a plan to provide the inservice training desired.

Cross-School Inservice Coordinating Units. A coordinating unit would be established for each school level--elementary, middle school, and high school and a representative from each school named to one of the three coordinating units. Meetings could be held bimonthly to discuss common problems and share resources. Greater utilization of school expertise and outside consultants is an anticipated outcome.

District-Wide Coordinating Units. Representatives from each coordinating unit, as well as representatives from higher education, local business and industry, and the community at large, would convene three times during the school year.

District-Regional High School Coordinating Units. Each high school in the region would establish an inservice unit for each major subject area. Representatives from each of these units would form a cross-school coordinating unit.

This system of continuous self-renewal through inservice training does not require extensive outside funding although obviously resources to initiate such a program would be desirable. The point is that the program is continuous and that it encourages those individuals who work directly with pupils, while at the same time maintaining administrative integrity.

The wide range of problems besetting urban and minority education are interrelated and complex. Few of the issues and problems contributing to the failures of our schools can be treated in isolation. Few people will disagree however that the teacher is a crucial variable in achieving quality education. "We could wish no child a happier fate," declares the Plowden report, "than to encounter a good teacher." One might add, and a good school board, superintendent, and principal. Together they constitute the human resources that bear most significantly on the quality of a child's educational experience.

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IMPROVING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF URBAN SCHOOLS: CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

Don Davies

"I see citizen participation as an essential part of empowering the powerless, revitalizing grassroots democracy, and creating a more equitable and just society. It is also a necessary part of improving the schools. It is simply too important to be treated in a trivial way by policy-makers and educators, or to be dominated by local, state, and federal government agencies."

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Don Davies is the President of the Institute for Responsive Education, Boston, Massachusetts. Dr. Davies describes the current status of citizen participation. He sees a vast number of different types of citizens' groups with differing degrees of involvement. In addition to school-oriented groups, there are child advocacy and neighborhood associations, other citizen groups that have broad concerns but are in part interested in schools, and the advisory committees created by legal mandates. Dr. Davies observes that little power has actually been transferred to citizens because professionals and school boards resist sharing power and collective bargaining agreements have diminished citizen access to decision making. He notes that the strongest challenges to both local and professional autonomy now come from federal and state mandates for citizen participation. Dr. Davies believes that shared power is a realistic objective, but it can be achieved only if mandated citizens' groups are given authority, support, and access to information, and if voluntary citizens' groups, which are more likely to reflect diverse community interests than the mandated groups, are strengthened.

Citizen participation means power for people to control their own lives and institutions. It is the lifeblood of grassroots democracy. Citizen power requires effective organizations at all levels, from the neighborhoods to Washington, through which individuals can deal with and influence the policies and practices of governments, corporations, unions, schools, and other institutions.

I believe that citizen participation, through effective citizen-controlled organizations, is the best counter-force to increased centralization of decision making in which more power rests with fewer experts, professionals, bureaucrats, technicians, and political leaders. It is also a potentially strong antidote to the mounting distrust, alienation, and apathy felt by the public toward institutions and governments.

The concept of citizen participation is powerful and compelling when applied to the public schools, our largest and most costly public institutions, which touch and influence the lives of nearly everyone in the country. The concept is particularly significant when applied to those who are often badly served by the schools, the urban and rural poor, minorities, and working class whites, who now have the least power in shaping school policies.

I am an advocate of citizen participation in the schools, and I am both pleased and alarmed that the concept has spread so widely in recent years. Citizen participation is definitely the newest fad in education. It is a growth industry and has spawned an array of new organizations, studies, reports, conferences, workshops, handbooks, and experts. As an advocate I am alarmed that a powerful idea is often being translated into trivial practice, and that the lack of substantive reform is showing through the patina of rhetoric.

My concern stems from my experience with the projects and studies of the Institute for Responsive Education (IRE) since 1974, especially two current activities. In the first, IRE is working with a minority subcontractor, Optimum Computer Systems, Inc. of New York, in a 3-year study of citizen organizations funded by the National Institute of Education's School Capacity for Problem-solving Group. The first 1-1/2 years of this study were devoted largely to an impressionistic national survey of the status of citizen participation in the cities. The second part of the study in Atlanta, Boston, and Los Angeles, focuses on how citizen organizations work to influence educational policies. The second project is funded by the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation to examine district and building level citizen advisory councils and the relationships between these government-mandated councils and independent citizen organizations.

The results of IRE's work to date will be reported in a series of publications in the coming months. In advance of these more formal and comprehensive reports I want to set forth briefly my own impressions and opinions about the status of citizen participation in the mid-1970's. These impressions are based on more than 350 field interviews with citizens, educators, and policy makers in 10 cities, several state capitals, and Washington, and on an exhaustive review of studies, evaluations, and other literature.

Current Status: High Quantity and Wide Variety

There is a vast amount of parent and citizen involvement in the schools, in suburbs and towns as well as in cities. An impressive array of types of participation (organized citizen efforts to influence policies) and involvement (other apolitical or nonpolicy oriented parent and citizen activities) can be found in public school districts. For example, there are the traditional parent associations. Even though the PTA has lost half of its membership nationally in the past decade, there are signs of more aggressive, issue-oriented PTA activities both nationally and locally. Other important forms of participation include city-wide and grassroots education associations, exemplified by such groups as New York's Public Education Association and United Bronx Parents, Atlanta's Council on Public Education, and Louisville's United Black Protective Parents. There are thousands of active, city-wide, multipurpose groups with some school-related activities. These include Leagues of Women Voters, Urban Leagues, businessmen's groups such as Chicago United or the Dallas Alliance, and the American Friends Service Committee.

Two important forms which have emerged since 1970 are child advocacy groups such as New York's Advocates for Children and the Massachusetts Advocacy Center, and grassroots neighborhood associations such as The Patch and the Reynoldstown Neighborhood Association in Atlanta and the South Central Planning Council in Los Angeles.

The numerically predominant new form of citizen participation in education is the building level advisory committee created by federal, state, and local mandate since 1970. With a wide range of titles including School Council, Parent Advisory Committee, Community Advisory Committee, etc., there are more than 100,000 such groups with an estimated 1,250,000 members. (These figures include both district-wide and site councils.)

Despite the new organizations and impressive statistics, I believe that little power has been transferred to parents and citizens. School superintendents continue to dominate school boards, professionals and school boards both resist sharing power with other parents and citizens. After years of impotence, teachers' associations have become powerful and now influence most aspects of educational policy through collective bargaining. Collective bargaining and the strength of teachers' organizations appear to diminish the access citizens have to policy setting and decision making, creating antagonism between teachers on one side and taxpayers and parents on the other. The once strong parent-teacher alliance seems to have faded in many places.

Challenges to Professional Control

Educators, school boards, and education interest groups, with their political allies, successfully turned back three important citizen-initiated challenges to the status quo of school control in the 1960's: community control, decentralization, and voucher plans. Recently, the strongest challenges to both local and professional autonomy come from the federal government. Federal education programs, even though they provide on the average less than 8% of the cost of running local schools, increasingly shape policies and practices. An even stronger influence is the impact of the courts. For example, court-ordered school desegregation in northern and western cities since 1970 has generated a wide variety of citizen reaction and activity, including citizen groups for and against desegregation and busing.

Most of the court plans have given a new legitimacy to citizen participation by mandating varied forms of involvement ranging from blue ribbon, city-wide advisory committees to Boston's three-tiered system of parent councils--city-wide, district-wide, and school site. Citizen groups in desegregating cities have participated in developing desegregation plans, mobilized public support, participated in carrying out the plan, monitored and reported on compliance, performed child advocacy and protection services, and have been involved in educational improvement.

In an issue such as desegregation, the courts mediate in situations where political leaders should be active. Increasingly, citizen groups turn to litigation and advocacy to change policies and practices. These approaches seem to get results more often and more quickly than conventional organizational ways of attmepting to influence decision makers.

Federal and State Initiatives

Congress and HEW have embraced the concept of citizen participation. They have mandated consultative and advisory mechanisms for parent and citizen participation in nearly all bills and regulations since the early 1970's, and the states are beginning to follow the federal lead. Florida mandated school advisory councils at the county level in 1973 (with optional school level councils established in more than half of the state's 67 county school districts). California has established site councils in each school participating in its Early Childhood Education program, as well as those involved in the new School Improvement Program, a finance reform bill. A new state finance plan in South Carolina has also mandated school advisory councils, and Colorado requires citizen participation in an optional school planning and accountability program.

The expanding web of mandated and government-initiated participatory mechanisms promised a great deal to the disenfranchised nonprofessional. But the vehicles clearly have worked less effectively than they could. They are often empty gestures raising false hopes. At best the letter of the law and not the spirit of participation prevails. Since little is done to make government-initiated mechanisms work, they actually may be increasing citizen alienation and frustration rather than creating new relationships based on shared power and shared decision making.

Issues and Styles of the 1970's

The issues facing city schools in the 1970's are much the same as those which faced them in the 1960's. The critical issues appear to be desegregation, finance (declining enrollments, rising costs, closing schools, competition for scarce resources among vital human service providers), conflicts with employee groups, curriculum concerns (back-to-basics and minimum competency programs), bilingual and bicultural programs, and vocational education.

While the issues remain basically the same, the styles of participation have changed markedly. Grassroots people are working in muted ways, often through mandated groups. Educators, as they increasingly accept the general principle of participation, continue to seek manageable, controllable, polite, constructive, and upbeat involvement. Educators appear to accept "input by citizens" as long as it is clear that no power changes hands. The spirit is technical and pragmatic, not ideological or political.

Empowering Mandated Groups

Despite some of these rather gloomy impressions, I believe that shared power between professionals, officials, and the public is still a realistic and achievable objective. It is possible to achieve decentralized decision making in the schools where parents and citizens have genuine power.

However, to achieve this parity, citizen groups mandated by legislative bodies and executive agencies must be given both authority and support. For building or site level councils to have authority, the scope and limitations of power must be clearly specified in the mandate, and important decisions about budget, personnel, and program must be delegated by federal, state, or district action to the building or site level. Otherwise, councils have few if any decisions to influence.

In addition, mandated councils must have support (namely staff responsible to them), open access to school-related information, and opportunities for training and leadership development.

Strengthening Self-initiated Groups

By far the most important need I see for citizen power to be realized in school policies is to strengthen citizen-initiated, private, voluntary organizations concerned about the schools. While our studies of the effectiveness of citizen organizations in Atlanta, Boston, and Los Angeles are just beginning, it is clear from other studies and the analyses of social scientists, that citizen-initiated community organizations are more likely to reflect the diversity of community interests than organizations mandated by government agencies. There is evidence that they are more aggressive and often more successful than government-sponsored community groups. They are more able than government-initated groups to articulate community interests and place issues on the local political agenda. They are much more likely to reflect local, social, cultural, and political traditions and styles; and, they can serve as mediators between individuals and the government in a way that government-mandated groups cannot. The voluntary, independent groups can more easily challenge inept bureaucratic practices and use legal recourse when necessary. They can give voice to those persons and groups now typically most excluded from policy influence and decision making--the urban and rural poor, working class citizens, and minorities. And, finally, voluntary citizen groups can assist the mandated groups in a number of ways such as: monitoring their work, providing information, training, and technical assistance; and helping to organize community participation.

In my view it is essential that public policies (local, state, and federal) be revised to support private, voluntary citizen organizations including but not limited to those that are concerned with school issues. High priority should be given to direct federal funding of voluntary community associations, without control by government agencies, and to more detailed planning and pilot projects to develop workable mechanisms for public support of these organizations.

I see citizen participation as an essential part of empowering the powerless, revitalizing grassroots democracy, and creating a more equitable and just society. It is also a necessary part of improving the schools. It is simply too important to be treated in a trivial way by policy makers and educators, or to be dominated by local, state, and federal government agencies.

It is clear to me that individuals and organizations who advocate citizen participation have an opportunity now to capitalize on the spirit of the time and to push toward making the widely accepted rhetoric a reality.

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IMPROVING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF URBAN SCHOOLS: EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

Francis S. Chase

> "We are convinced that cities cannot renew themselves without high quality education responsive to the developmental needs of all growing up in the cities. We are equally convinced that the creation of city-wide environments conducive to learning requires the combined efforts of government, business, churches, and community groups of all kinds....At no stage should it be confined to the schools, but schools have an inescapable obligation to expedite learning in all life situations by developing the skills and habits of observation and inquiry that make experiences educative."

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In this paper, Francis S. Chase, Director of Urban Education Studies, summarizes what he sees as encouraging developments in urban education. He gives examples of successful programs found in the data collected by Urban Education Studies from 30 urban districts. These include work-study programs such as the pre-employment preparation program and the Jefferson Skills Center in the Toledo Public Schools; arts in education programs such as the Success Through Strings and Learning Through Piano programs in Dallas and the Arts Magnet High School in Dallas; programs which incorporate community resources such as the Oakland Unified School District's use of the Chabot Science Center and Laboratory and the California Museum; and educational alternatives such as those provided by the Milwaukee Speciality Programs and the Magnet High Schools in Dallas. From the Urban Education Studies data, Dr. Chase formulated five generalizations about successful programs. First, federal intervention has encouraged innovation. Second, local factors are crucial to program success, especially effective program leadership. Third, continuous program evaluation is crucial. Fourth, most of the successful programs emphasize student choice and responsibility, experience-based education, and use of resources outside the school. And fifth, programs now in use with the disadvantaged can be made available to all students. Dr. Chase concludes by listing four essential conditions for revitalizing urban education. Equitable allocation of resources must be made, including the discovery of ways to attract and keep creative teachers in difficult situations. Adaptations to individual student differences must continuously be sought. The total urban environment must be utilized. Finally, ways to recognize effort and creativity and to create environments which promote high achievement must be found.

For more than two decades, the sins of omission and commission of urban public school systems have been written large for all to see. Journalists and reformers, civil rights advocates, and friends of children have all exposed shortcomings and viewed with alarm the state of education in our cities. In the 1950's and 1960's, a deluge of denunciatory books (from Why Johnny Can't Read through Up the Down Staircase and The Blackboard Jungle to Death at an Early Age) highlighted the plight of the victims of miseducation. To convince even the most skeptical, the evidence of declining test results has been paraded repeatedly leading to calls for "back to the basics." Another recurring theme has been that of crime in the schools, with parallel demands for tougher discipline. A somber accompaniment to the assorted charges of malfeasance and misfeasance has been the closing of schools for teacher strikes or shortages of funds. The tale of woe can be spelled out in sufficient detail to satisfy the most morbid, but we need not dwell on these stories.

Another side of the story deals with the efforts to reform urban education and education generally. The Civil Rights Movement, under the brilliant leadership of Martin Luther King, had its repercussions in education, and, in fact, became one of the most potent forces working for equal opportunity in our schools. The Federal Courts, beginning with Brown in 1954, intervened vigorously, if not always effectively, to promote desegregation and equal rights. Congress enacted a series of measures designed to provide resources and incentives toward more effective education for the "disadvantaged." Guidelines accompanying the Federal funds, Civil Rights regulations, and continuing recourse to the courts have continued to exert pressure toward equitable allocation of resources and equal treatment of minorities and the handicapped, although opposition to these measures has continued and their effectiveness is disputed.

Events of the past two decades have convinced many thoughtful persons that major transformations in educational institutions and practices are long overdue. Among the reasons for expecting a sharp break with traditional school practices are the following:

1. The increased sensitivity to denial of rights on the basis of race, sex, places of residence, or sheer inertia.

2. Federal and state legislation, regulations, and court decisions in support of equal opportunity and civil rights.

3. The rapid changes in the populations of large cities and the accompanying gross inadequacies and inequities in housing, schooling, and opportunities for employment.

4. The virtual bankruptcy of many city school systems and municipal governments.

5. Air pollution, increase in crime, and other contributions to the deterioration of urban life.

6. The technological revolution which has made television, computers, and the jet plane, as well as the automobile, important shapers of culture, employment opportunities, and values.

7. Dissatisfaction of students, parents, employers, and other citizens with educational performance and achievement and with nearly every aspect of school operation.

The Urban Education Studies (UES), which I am directing, were motivated by (a) the conviction that far reaching changes are needed, and are beginning to be made, in urban education; (b) the belief that the time is ripe for educational research keyed to constructive action; and (c) the hope of uniting school and university personnel in many countries in a common effort to raise the quality of education through research keyed to constructive measures of renewal and reform. This set of convictions was the basis for a proposal to the Spencer Foundation, which responded with a grant to support exploratory studies in large city districts. The Council of the Great City Schools accepted an invitation to become the primary sponsor of the UES (and recipient and disburser of Foundation funds), and the University Council of Educational Administration later voted to become a cosponsor.

Purposes, Strategies, and Procedures

In accordance with the original proposal, the Urban Education Studies are directed toward the advancement of three kinds of objectives:

1. Increased knowledge of promising developments and problem-solving strategies;
2. Facilitation of world-wide communication among those providing leadership for the improvement of education; and
3. Acceleration of efforts toward renewal and reform.

The UES are designed to reinforce the work of other agencies and to encourage desirable trends and developments. In order to serve the function of stimulating, expediting, and adding direction, several distinctive features were incorporated into the design of the UES. Among these were:

1. Concentration on areas of urban education which are high on the list of national and international priorities.

Action-Learning, especially efforts to provide work experience, voluntary service experience, career exploration, and related experiences for all secondary school students.

Cultural Pluralism, including recognition of the values of cultural diversity; removal of racial, ethnic, and sex barriers; multicultural programs; and other approaches to reconciliation of the values of unity and diversity.

Basic Skills, involving identification and establishment of conditions which will enable every individual to acquire the skills and disposition for lifelong learning.

Special Education, or improved programs for the education of the handicapped, another area which is receiving increased attention from urban school systems in the United States and elsewhere.

School-Community Collaboration, or the establishment of networks of community agencies to reinforce and supplement learning experiences provided by the schools.

2. Identification and analysis of programs reported to be unusually successful in increasing educational motivation and achievement. This process was started with collection of baseline data from large cities in the United States and continued through the site visits to five cities. Analyses of the data from these preliminary studies are being used to refine procedures for future studies.

3. The use of study teams composed of experienced and knowledgeable personnel (including both men and women of minority races and cultures)

from both urban districts and urban universities. Each district participating in the on-site studies contributed a minimum of six-person weeks for studies in other districts, and university professors contributed their time to the studies in order to gain a better understanding of problems in urban education and to facilitate solution of these problems. Travel expenses for members of the site-visit teams were paid from UES funds, and graduate students and other competent young persons were paid modest stipends for conducting structured interviews with students. The on-site studies covered a full week in each district and involved from 18-20 persons (or 90-100 person days, contributed for the greater part by participating urban districts and universities). The briefing and feedback sessions during the site visits became, in effect, a series of seminars focused on means of improving urban education.

Comments on the Pilot Year

The response to the Urban Education Studies has been remarkably enthusiastic. Thirty of the United States' large city school districts provided descriptions and other data on a total of 599 programs which they rate among their most successful. It may be noted that a large proportion of the programs reported as most successful are funded in whole or in part by Federal funds. This is true of over 70% of the successful programs reported under Cultural Pluralism, more than 60% of the Basic Skills' programs, and nearly half of those reported under Action-Learning.

Between September and December 1977, site visits by teams of 18-20 persons were made to the public school systems in Atlanta, Dallas, Milwaukee, Oakland, and Toledo. Subteams of three or four site visitors accepted responsibility for examination of the nominated programs in each of the areas under study. After reading the available descriptive and evaluative reports, the teams were briefed by the administrators in charge of the several programs. Subsequently, the teams spent 3 or more days observing students in school and out-of-school activities. In every case, observation was followed by close questioning of students, as well as of program directors and teachers.

During the same period, structured interviews were conducted with approximately 1,500 middle school and high school students who were enrolled in the programs rated successful by the 5 cities. An overwhelming majority of the students in these innovative programs expressed enthusiasm or high satisfaction with their experiences. The reasons given for satisfaction related in most cases to enlarged opportunities for learning or for pursuing activities related to strong interests and career aspirations. For example, more than 60% of those in action-learning programs, and over 50% in both basic skills and multicultural programs gave the nature of learning experiences or the amount of learning as reasons for their preferences for the innovative programs.

Encouraging Developments

A review of the successful programs described by the 30 districts and the follow-up site visits in 5 cities provides support for the following summary of encouraging developments:

1. *Urban education has an inner vitality which is generating innovative programs and strategies of great potential even in the midst of extremely adverse conditions.* Despite well-documented testimony on the low achievement in urban schools and recent statistics purporting to show the schools as a most dangerous place to be, we are discovering that many administrators, teachers, and other staff members demonstrate ability to arouse zest for learning in students from diverse backgrounds, including those whose histories have been marked by failure, loss of hope, and antisocial behavior.

2. *There is a deepening concern for the needs poorly served by traditional schooling.* Fewer educators and board members now attribute low achievement to inherent disabilities, lack of effort, or poverty of parents; more and more are raising their expectations for students formerly regarded as slow learners. Efforts to adapt the curriculum to students and to create motivation and conditions for effective learning are likewise increasing in a number of schools and programs.

3. *An increasing number of community agencies and groups are joining with the schools to develop enriched environments for learning, and the gulf between schools and society is being bridged in many new ways.* The

recruitment of citizen volunteers to serve as counselors, resource persons, and tutors is gaining momentum, and larger and larger numbers of parents are being involved as partners in education. Opportunities for experience-based education are being considerably enlarged through part- or full-time employment and internships. Business and industry are lending their resources and facilities for an expanded range of experiences which foster the development of responsibility, provide an understanding of the values of different kinds of occupations, and contribute to the development of knowledge and skills. Training and on-the-job experiences also are being offered through hospitals, medical and dental offices, child care centers, and services for the aged. Unprecedented opportunities are being opened to many students in the performing and visual arts, in museums, and other cultural institutions. Internships in several branches of city, state, and national government are offering new understandings of the responsibilities of citizenship, as well as career exploration.

4. Innovative programs and alternatives are producing significant changes in the character of educational experiences provided at both elementary and secondary levels. With the active support and participation of community organizations and citizens, educators in many cities are creating significant alternatives to traditional, inappropriate classroom experiences. Observations of these innovative programs, and interviews with students, gave evidence of increased motivation and zest in learning for many students with a wide range of backgrounds,

aspirations, and learning styles. The direction of change in a number of the more successful and promising programs appears to be away from an excessively verbal curriculum toward the offering of choices among a variety of experiences in the arts, community institutions and services, and places of work and recreation. Prescriptive instruction and passive student compliance with teacher assignments are being replaced by responsive modes of instruction and by learning experiences adapted to students' expressed needs and interests. Consequently, the range of options open to students and their parents are significantly broader than the options presented by the traditional elective system or choices among academic, vocational, and other traditional offerings.

5. The conditions essential to the success of magnet schools and other options are beginning to be better understood, and progress is being made toward realization of these essential conditions. Systematic curriculum development and modification is proceeding with improved provisions for initial and continuing staff development. The need for better counseling to help students make wise choices of experiences is being recognized, and efforts are being made to adapt instructional materials, facilities, and technologies to student characteristics. Moreover, there is a more general acceptance of the importance of evaluation at every stage of development, implementation, and subsequent operation.

Examples of Successful Programs

I would like to use a few of the programs examined in the five cities to illustrate progress toward more effective education and some of the ingredients of success. For my first example, I shall go to the city of Toledo where school closings (ordered because of lack of funds) forced the rescheduling of our visit. Here, we encountered multiple reasons for discouragement on the part of school personnel and others interested in the future of education and of Toledo. Four attempts to raise the tax levy to provide more nearly adequate funding had failed; the teacher organization and the school administration had not succeeded in uniting their efforts in support of financing or needed reforms; the Superintendent of Schools had offered his resignation in order to remove himself as a possible object of controversy; public opinion seemed divided and highly critical of the schools; and there was evidence of communication breakdowns within the school system as well as between the schools and the public. This seemed to be a bleak picture, but it was relieved, as we found, by many shining examples of effective education.

Work-Study Programs

I shall focus on two programs which may be said to serve as "rescue missions" for youth who have enjoyed little previous sense of achievement in school or in life. One of these programs is known as PEP, for pre-employment preparation. The program accepts dropouts and delinquents either by referral from the schools or application from students and parents. The leadership of the program is characterized by an unflagging faith in the undeveloped potential of students, even when their behaviors seem to suggest they are unredeemable. The ingenuity and endless patience of the program leader and the staff are buttressed by the confidence and support of the central administration, and by many community agencies whose assistance has been enlisted. The program is funded through a combination of federal, state, and local resources. One striking characteristic of PEP is the way in which the experiences are adapted to student needs and interests, so that the student is always the center and the starting point for curriculum, counseling, and instruction. As the title of the program suggests, the program operates to help young people, many of whom have been in trouble with the law as well as with school authorities, to develop skills for learning and productive work together with attitudes of responsibility and cooperation. Through a variety of imaginatively planned experiences, most students develop to the point where they may be returned to their home schools, placed in internships or on-the-job training, or recommended for full-time employment or additional training opportunities. From conversations with many of the students, it was apparent that they are acquiring a new sense of worth and beginning to believe that they can make good lives for themselves.

The second type of action-learning program is represented by the Jefferson Skills Center. The Toledo Public Schools purchased the old Central Post Office--a beautiful historic landmark--for $1 and, with the aid of federal rehabilitation funds, transferred it into a magnificently equipped facility for the development of employment skills. The program leadership recruited skilled craftsmen, mechanics, marketing personnel, and other skilled instructors from business and industry. It also established cooperative relationships with a number of business and industrial organizations to supplement the training provided in the Center, to facilitate job placement, and to break down the barriers between schools and work places. Conversations with instructors and students and the records of achievement and employment indicate that this program is achieving a high degree of success. At present the Center is not fully utilized, and this is true also of other Skills Centers in Toledo. Toledo school administrators are conscious of the need to improve student perceptions of the experiences provided by the centers through counseling and better communication.

The Arts in Education

For my next examples, I would like to describe features found to some extent in programs in all of the cities visited, but I shall choose programs from Milwaukee and Dallas, which emphasize the place of the arts in elementary and secondary education. In 1970 music programs known as Success Through Strings (STS) and Learning Through Piano (LTP) were introduced in the Dunbar Elementary School which had the lowest average family income in Dallas. These music programs, and programs in other areas, were developed in the Dunbar Community Learning Center which was one of the earliest attempts to employ systematic research and development strategies for curriculum development in urban districts. These programs operate on the assumption that important achievements can be put within reach of every child, and that development of the child's potential requires the combined efforts of home and school. One requirement for admission to STS (a modification of the Suzuki violin method) is the participation of a parent. Two notable results have followed: First, the achievements in music have received national recognition through invitations in 2 successive years to perform at the Music Educators National Conference; and second, academic achievement of the students involved in these programs has increased dramatically, and a majority of them have advanced from 2 years or more below grade level to grade level or above.

In the fall of 1977, the Elm Creative Arts Elementary School began operations in Milwaukee. This school, with students in K-5, is housed in a beautifully restored 100 year old building with high ceilings and wide-board flooring. The building has been enhanced by new paint with colorful stripings on the exterior and by murals representing Olympic themes on the stairs, in the gymnasium, and on other suitable wall space. There is a resident artist who is an accomplished wood carver, producing African masks and other symbolic sculptures. There is also a well-qualified dance teacher, and the efforts of these resident artists are supplemented by visiting artists from the community. The concept of "children as artists as well as pupils" proved so attractive to Milwaukee parents that applications poured in from all parts of the city. The result was enrollment of 56% White students in this school which formerly enrolled few non-Black students. Observation in this school, and talks with students and teachers, indicate that reading, math, and other skills, far from being neglected, are being pursued with a zest carried over from creative activities. All students manifested a good feeling about themselves and enthusiasm for the program.

The Dallas Independent School District is also among the cities which has moved strongly to establish magnet high schools in the inner-city with the dual purpose of promoting racial and ethnic integration and high quality education. With this in mind, Dallas persuaded a distinguished theater director and scholar to become director also of the Arts Magnet High School, located in the old Booker T. Washington High School. This Arts Magnet, now in its second year of operation, enrolls 701 students, of which 50.4% are Black, 41.5% white, 6.6% Mexican Americans, and 1.6% from other backgrounds. Both resident and visiting artists serve as members of the staff. Of the 50 full-time instructors, 33 teach in the 4 clusters of dance, drama, music, and visual arts, and 17 in the academic subjects. The full-time staff is supplemented by the part-time services of 45 professionals in the arts. Admission was open to all who were interested in combining experience in the arts with other aspects of learning, and all parts of the city are represented in the enrollment. On the ITBS Reading Comprehension subtest 9th grade students are 1.2 years below grade level and 12th grade students 2.9 years below. The deficiencies in mathematics are even greater. There has not been sufficient time to predict the effects of the new experiences on academic achievement, but there are a number of encouraging signs. Evaluation is built into the design, development, and implementation of the programs at the Arts Magnet High School, and an assistant evaluator from the Research and Evaluation Department is assigned full-time for this purpose. There is evidence that evaluative information is receiving careful study and being used for modification of programs and procedures.

Use of Community Resources

On the site visits, we found many outstanding examples of how museums and other community resources are being used to supplement school experiences. The Oakland Unified School District has developed particularly close relationships with the Chabot Science Center and Observatory and with the California Museum. The latter graphically depicts California's natural resources, cultural history, and the migration of peoples. One unusual feature in Oakland is the way in which school personnel work with the staffs of the Center and the Museum to provide in-depth experiences at appropriate stages of development for all Oakland students (and many from surrounding districts). In Milwuakee, a new Arts Center offers a rich variety of resources which are being used to good effect to increase students' motivation for all kinds of adventures in learning.

New Educational Alternatives

No development in education in recent years has attracted more attention that the development of schools and programs which offer significant alternatives to traditional schooling. Among the more promising of the alternatives observed during our site visits were the Far West High School and the Regional Occupations Centers in Oakland, which provide training for a wide variety of occupations; the Alternative Programs in Atlanta, which include such ingenious departures from tradition as Project Propinquity and Schools Without Walls; the six Magnet High Schools in Dallas, which supplement the Skyline Career Development Center and offer a wide range of educational and vocational experiences through clusters of related careers; and the Milwaukee Specialty Programs attached to senior high schools.

One characteristic common to these programs is the emphasis on action-learning or involvement in firsthand experiences in places of employment, the performing arts, or other situations where special skills can be developed along with a deepened sense of responsibility for the effects of one's behavior on others and on the achievement of goals. Another common characteristic of these programs is that students get firsthand acquaintance with the values and behaviors which operate in different occupations.

Still another characteristic is that these options offer opportunities for deliberate choices of experiences related to strong personal interests or career aspirations. Our site visits revealed a strong sense of commitment, a developing perception of their own capabilities, and unusual zest for learning among students in these optional programs. These attitudes offer increased promise of success in the new programs and motivation for removing deficiencies in basic learning skills.

The examples given above are unusually successful programs which involve learning in work places or situations significantly different from the typical classroom or science laboratory. These programs also benefit from high community involvement. Space limitations make it impossible to give even thumbnail descriptions of exciting programs observed in the basic skills, bilingual and multicultural education, programs for the talented and gifted, or special education for the handicapped. For the same reason there is no description of movements of great promise such as parents as partners in learning; peer, parent, and volunteer tutoring; school adoptions by churches, universities, business, and other organizations; or the numerous contributions to planning and decision making by many types of advisory committees. So much is happening in the five districts visited that a remarkable educational transformation would occur if all of the successful innovations could be fully realized in any single district.

Tentative Generalizations

The data from the 30 cities, illuminated by on-site studies in 5 cities, seem to justify the following generalizations with respect to the aspects of education examined:

1. Federal intervention--through grants and contracts, equal opportunity requirements, and court decrees--have either triggered or expedited a high proportion of the innovations which urban districts rate as unusually successful.

2. Local and situational factors--including program leadership, staff and district commitment, and effectiveness of implementation--are crucial to program success.

3. Continuous program evaluation, adaptation to revealed student needs, and staff development are essential to continuing program success and local support.

4. Most of the highly successful and promising programs represent significant departures from traditional schooling through emphasis on student choice and responsibility, experience-based education, and greater use of resources outside of the school.

5. The many promising approaches and programs, which are now offering invigorating educational experiences to some of the previously disadvantaged, can be made available to all students through systematic needs assessment, curriculum and staff development, and continuing professional and citizen collaboration toward equality and excellence.

A large proportion of the programs reported as most successful are funded in whole or in part by federal funds. In part, the high proportion of federally funded programs is accounted for by the types of programs examined, and, in part, by the fact that most of the nominated programs represent recent innovations. The site visits revealed that many other programs have been initiated as the result of orders handed down by the Courts in desegregation cases or by federal or state legislation and regulations requiring elimination of discrimination on the basis of race or sex and requiring transitional instruction in native languages for the non-English speaking.

As we examined similar federally supported programs in one district after another, it was apparent that local leadership characterizes the more successful programs. Program outcomes depend on the effectiveness of implementation and on continuing modification and improvement of all elements. The adaptations which are essential to program effectiveness, require continuing staff alertness to indicators of student motivation and performance, and these observational data must be supplemented by systematic evaluation of curriculum design, materials and methods of instruction, and effects on learning.

The effectiveness of implementation is determined by a number of factors, of which none is more important than the capability and the extent of commitment of program leaders. Program leadership is the dynamic factor which maintains the cutting edge through continuing staff development, through enlisting central administration and community support, and through continual adaptation to observed needs and preferences of students. It may also be noted that local needs assessment and problem-solving are essential to enthusiastic commitment to the program, and are critical factors in achievement of program objectives. Moreover, strong administrative support--at both the system and school levels--is important to successful implementation, and so is broad community support. The understanding and support of students and their parents are likewise important to the realization of program objectives.

It has been noted that many of the most successful programs involved learning in work-places or in other situations which differ significantly from the typical classroom. Another characteristic found in the highly successful programs was extensive use of community resources outside the schools. Community involvement takes many forms such as parents as partners, the use of citizen volunteers, on-the-job internships, and wide use of many kinds of cultural resources.

The promising developments described are far from fully realized. In fact, the programs which are producing demonstrated results with previous low achievers or seem to hold promise for advancing the quality of education are notable partly because they are exceptional. At best, the more successful programs, strategies for community involvement, and curriculum revitalization processes, represent a small beginning on the enormous task of making education genuinely responsive to the needs and capabilities of those growing up in our cities. Our site-visit teams found much to commend, many successful developments to recommend to other cities, and many signs that urban education is beginning to cope with the challenges of the city. In nearly every case, however, they expressed concern over possible shortcomings or made recommendations for the strengthening of one or another element.

We are convinced that cities cannot renew themselves without high quality education responsive to the developmental needs of all growing up in the cities. We are equally convinced that the creation of city-wide environments conducive to learning requires the combined efforts of government, business, churches, and community groups of all kinds. Education is an adventure to be pursued throughout life--in homes, from nature, and through every encounter in one's own and other cultures. At no stage should it be confined to the schools, but schools have an inescapable obligation to expedite learning in all life situations by developing the skills and the habits of observation and inquiry that made experiences educative.

Among the essential conditions for a successful revitalization of urban education are the following:

An equitable allocation of resources. Despite federal grants and regulations, interventions by the courts and a number of other pressures toward "comparability" and equal treatment, there are still inequities in the education resources available for those in impoverished neighborhoods, members of minority groups, and the handicapped. Equity requires not simply equal treatment, but the matching of resources to needs. For example, higher per capita school expenditures can be justified for those living in impoverished environments or suffering from handicaps or previous educational deficiencies. Tests of equity must be applied to school buildings and facilities, instructional materials, staff competency, the curriculum, instructional leadership, and efforts to involve parents and the community generally.

The "seniority" principle enables experienced teachers to choose teaching assignments near their residences or in schools in the more affluent neighborhoods, and, if they choose to remain in lower class neighborhoods, their reputations may suffer. Unless school districts can offer recognition or other rewards to teachers, principals, and other professional personnel for work in the "difficult situations," the children of the poor and those who have been victims of discriminatory treatment are not likely to experience as high a proportion of highly qualified teachers, principals, and counselors as do children in more affluent neighborhoods. Few, if any, school districts have addressed themselves to these problems with sufficient imagination to attract the most creative teachers to situations where they may enjoy the challenges and the rewards of achieving success under circumstances which baffle the less talented.

Change from a prescriptive to a responsive or enabling curriculum. There is need for better adaptation to cultural values and learning styles. This requires continuous evaluation and modification of curriculum and instruction. It also calls for evaluation of individual performance and programs through means other than by paper and pencil or standardized tests. It likewise demands greater flexibility in school organization and modes of instruction, heightened expectations with regard to the capabilities and performance of all students, and an increase in significant educational alternatives to provide a range of choices for students and their parents.

Perhaps the most basic requirement, however, for changing the curriculum from tasks imposed on students to experiences adapted to their characteristics and needs, is for teachers, principals, and other school personnel to strive constantly for better understanding of individual students. This means turning attentive eyes and ears to what students tell about themselves in nonverbal ways as well as through language. It requires further that all teachers engage in an unremitting quest for discovery of the talents and capabilities of every student, especially those talents which circumstances have prevented from earlier blooming. As suggested previously, school districts need to find better ways of giving recognition to professional personnel who have highly developed capabilities for discovering and developing talents in students who do not respond fully to traditional teaching.

Utilization of the total urban environment. The urban environment offers almost inexhaustible resources for educative experiences, and the gap between schooling and out-of-school experiences needs to be closed. Experience-based education in business, industry, government, health services, and social agencies is an approach which is receiving increased attention. Another avenue for extending experiences comes through close collaboration with museums, the arts, and other cultural agencies. Other ways of utilizing community resources include various types of camping experiences, fuller use of parents and other volunteers as tutors or part-time instructors, and the concept of parents as partners in education. Another promising development, which requires careful planning and judicious implementation, is the involvement of parents, community leaders, and other citizens in the making of educational policy and decisions regarding school facilities, curriculum and instruction, discipline, and other matters.

System renewal strategies. The tendency of all large social systems is to continue operating in ways that produce a minimum of discomfort. This leads to following well-worn paths, using accustomed channels, and refraining from "making waves" or "rocking the boat." All systems, including school bureaucracies, strive to maintain equilibrium by rejecting or ejecting whatever, or whomever, disturbs the accustomed rhythms of operation. The introduction of new ideas, which demand a change in habitual behaviors, is regarded with suspicion by those who are reluctant to modify habitual behaviors. Experimentation is often frowned upon in school systems and other bureaucracies where rewards tend to attach to seniority rather than to high performance. School personnel in large city high schools often have such fleeting encounters with students that they are unable to relate fully to the achievements and failures of those with whom they have worked. Thus, they are deprived at least in part of one of the rewards intrinsic to teaching. Consequently, the motivation to find more effective modes of instruction or to break down the obstacles to learning may be weakened. Another factor buttressing resistance to change is educational "faddism" or the headlong innovation sometimes promoted by ambitious administrators.

The desirable features of the more successful innovations are unlikely to persist or to generate general systems renewal unless ways can be found to recognize and reward creativity and zeal in meeting educational needs and creating environments conducive to high achievement. Fortunately school administrators and boards of education in a number of our cities are giving serious thought to how to increase the dynamism and problem-solving power of school bureaucracies.

In succeeding months, we hope to identify and describe some of the more promising systems renewal strategies.

PART THREE:

RESPONSES FROM URBAN SCHOOLS

ED185227

A DALLAS STORY

Nolan Estes

"...the school district's response to urban needs requires new perspectives for renewal. It calls for leadership with the capacity to conceptualize human growth in an open society. ...It calls for shared decision making. It demands new understanding of institutional racism and pluralism. It depends upon new strategies of governance and priority planning at the local level."

UD 020533

Part Three explores the ways various districts have responded to the problems facing urban education. One district that is committed to making the pluralistic setting of the urban school an asset is the Dallas Independent School District. Nolan Estes, former General Superintendent for the Dallas district, describes five methods by which the East Oak Cliff Subdistrict in Dallas has sought to improve its educational program. The subdistrict uses a governance system of administration in which the administration, in conjunction with the staff, sets building goals. There is regular assessment of building needs, and a leadership team meets with the associate superintendent. To prepare administrators for making changes, a leadership rpogram was developed, and community involvement was obtained through such methods as a community convocation and lecture series and cooperation in a pilot project on racism. Special programs were used to extend learning experiences for students. These included Individually Guided Education, a program for identifying gifted and talented children, cooperation with a local college, and the establishment of cultural heritage centers. A team of instructional facilitators has also been used in the East Oak Cliff Subdistrict to help individual schools.

Panorama of the Present

Sweeping and significant changes are occurring in the world community, in the United States, and in all of our local communities. Not only are the changes profound and perplexing, but they are occurring so rapidly that, as futurists tell us, we walk with faltering steps into a future unknown, unanticipated, and unpredictable.

Change in the world order has an impact on the United States, change in the United States is felt first in the nation's cities. Our cities have become havens for the have nots. Within the last decade we have observed middle class America--Black, White, and Brown--make its way to suburbia and exurbia while their ethnic counterparts, particularly those who are poor, mingle in a sprawling environment where there is less and less for more and more people.

Recall the summer of 1967 when 150 cities were burning. The President of the United States appointed a National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders because the nation was gripped with shock, fear, and bewilderment. In his charge, President Lyndon B. Johnson framed the commission's mandate in these words: "We need to know the answers to three basic questions about these riots: What happened? Why did it happen? What can be done to prevent it from happening again and again?" (Report of the National Advisory Commission, 1968, p. 536.)

In 1968 the Kerner Commission reported this basic conclusion: "Our nation is moving toward two societies--one black, one white--separate and unequal." (Report of the National Advisory Commission, 1968, p. 1.)

Institutionalized racism was identified as the root cause. The report pointed out the impact of institutional racism in education when it concluded, in part:

> Education in a democratic society must equip children to develop their potential and to participate fully in American life. For the community at large, the schools have discharged this responsibility well. But for many minorities, and particularly for the children of the urban ghetto, the schools have failed to provide the educational experience which could overcome the effects of discrimination and deprivation. [Report of the National Advisory Commission, 1968, p. 25.]

As a whole, the nation's 25 million Blacks have gained enormously in the last decade, but many students of the nation's racial struggles as well as Black and White community leaders throughout the country, see a bleak future for the millions remaining in urban ghettos.

Outside the ghettos, Whites are even more insulated from the slums than they were in 1968. Many urban Blacks, perhaps 30%, have worked their way into the middle class and have moved to the suburbs or to better housing within the cities. Some of those still dependent on public assistance have received increases in real income through rent subsidies, a liberalized food stamp plan, an expanded welfare system, and other benefits enacted since 1968.

The number of Black elected officials has increased dramatically, as has the educational level of Blacks. Blacks and other minorities are more visible on television and in sports. In a number of ways, it is an integrated society.

But chronically high unemployment in Black neighborhoods has raised fears that the nation may have acquired a permanent underclass, people who are wards of the government, living out unproductive lives under conditions that most Americans, if they thought about them at all, consider unacceptable.

After 10 years, another president of the United States is calling for a national urban policy. President Carter has proposed several antiracism strategies. He has made eliminating racism a basic component of the proposed urban policy. The challenges to education remain clear.

If we do not acknowledge that racism exists, how can we be effective in eliminating it in our institutional policies and practices, in our attitudes and patterns of behavior?

Perspective on Renewal

In 1978 the fundamental objective of any evolving national urban policy must be to improve the quality of life in a decent and healthful living environment. Education is critical in the process.

The educational system of America is under tremendous scrutiny. Much of the turmoil evolves from the difficulties in creating a unitary system of education after centuries of separate and unequal education. The way this issue is resolved may well determine not only the fate of education but the fate of the country. For in America the educational system undergirds the society.

The school district's reponse to urban needs requires new perspectives for renewal. It calls for leadership with the capacity to conceptualize human growth in an open society. For if we cannot conceptualize, we cannot actualize. It calls for shared decision making. It demands new understanding of institutional racism and pluralism. It depends upon new strategies of governance and priority planning at the local level.

At a time of disillusionment and discontinuity, it is important that we do not lose our sense of power over our own destiny. It is important for us to continue to project the essence of America--the combined will of the people to respond in a time of crisis.

No issue has galvanized the total fabric of the nation more than has school desegregation. It has forced us both as a nation and as individuals to reassess our ideology. It was hoped that school desegregation would move us closer toward century-old pronouncements of justice in an open and democratic society in which equality of opportunity might be a reality.

Many models of separation, integration, and community control have come and gone. While models vary, cultural pluralism is built on a respect for and an affirmation of differences. The goal is an integration of different parts--an orchestration of harmonious parts which do not threaten, but complement each other. It means that we will grapple with different ideals, different goals, commitments, and life styles.

We would be called on to reduce the effects of racism, sexism, and classism in the governance of the school's curriculum content, attitudes, and perceptions. School personnel would be called on to rid themselves and the institution of the inaccurate and immoral data which have passed from generation to generation. That is the only way that we can teach the young in an authentic and academically valid way.

Profile of a Response

Our "search in Dallas is unique. Our staff and our community are committed to developing a pluralistic setting for all students--even in a majority minority urban school district. Since the Dallas schools are charting a new course, I would like to share with you some reflections on our experience with the East Oak Cliff Subdistrict of the Dallas Independent School District.

We believe that pluralism is more than a good philosophy. While the court order created East Oak Cliff as one of five subdistricts, making it structurally pluralistic, it will require a competent and dedicated staff to develop a cultural and pluralistic model. East Oak Cliff is a 98.6% Black subdistrict and has a student population of more than 26,000. The staff is 65% Anglo and 35% Black. The administrative staff is 60% Black. The subdistrict is a quasi-autonomous model with an associate superintendent, administrative assistants, director of instruction, and instructional support personnel. Subdistrict personnel are trying to humanize the schools and schooling to the end that the students experience themselves growing, learning, sharing, and caring. Their first priority involved determining their goals and objectives as four major thrusts:

1. creating a school and community climate which affirms education and the Black, Brown, Red, and Yellow experiences in tandem with the Euro-American experience;

2. implementing a more effective delivery system to ensure mastery of basic academic and social skills;

3. developing a community outreach and involvement program which maximizes the home and school partnership; and

4. reaching accountability.

After only 18 months is existence, the East Oak Cliff Subdistrict can list several significant accomplishments.

Governance

The first step was to design and implement a Governance System of Administration. This system requires each local building administrator to plan building level goals and objectives in collaboration with his or her teaching staff. It further requires administrators to carefully assess local building needs in areas such as student achievement levels, teacher preparation, discipline, philosophies and practices, school-community linkages, and student involvement in extracurricular activities. Finally, the leadership team which includes the principal, assistant principal, instructional resource teacher, reading demonstration teacher, and mathematics demonstration teacher meet in conference with the associate superintendent to review the governance system and its effectiveness twice during the school year.

Leadership Development

Since the challenge is great and the stakes in human lives and productivity so tremendous, the belief was that educational leaders in the East Oak Cliff Subdistrict should have the benefit of the philosophies and experiences of major educators from throughout the nation. An Educational Leadership Development Program was therefore developed. Principals and central administrators were inspired, instructed, and instilled with a new and renewed vision as they listened to and came in direct contact with such greats as Dr. LuVern Cunningham, Dr. Dan Dodson, Dr. Richard Foster, Dr. Orlando Taylor, Dr. Deborah Wolfe, and Dr. Benjamin Bloom. The entire program was designed to more fully prepare principals and central administrators to effect the changes necessary in education for cognitive excellence.

In addition, two convocations were held at the beginning of the school year for the entire teaching staff. The associate superintendent of the subdistrict addressed the teachers and emphasized the responsibility of each professional adult in the shaping of future leaders.

Community Involvement

Not only were administrators and teachers given special opportunities for growth and learning, but the community, including parents and other interested citizens, also was provided opportunities to participate in a meaningful way.

A Community Convocation, held on a Saturday morning, was attended by more than 1,200 parents. This type of response belies the notion that parents are uninterested in their children's education.

Another opportunity was cooperation with the National Council of Christians and Jews on a pilot project regarding racism entitled "For Whites Only."

The Dallas Womens Council of Dallas County collaborated with the East Oak Cliff Subdistrict in sponsoring two Excellence in Teaching Awards Luncheons. The teacher chosen as the most outstanding at each luncheon was awarded a $500 all-expense paid trip to the educational conference of his or her choice.

Still another form of community involvement was the institution of the Lorraine Hansberry Arts and Letters Lecture Series in 1976-77. The initial lecture was presented by Dr. Beryle Banfield. In 1977-78 the series featured Ruby Dee and Ossie Davis who spoke for a full-capacity audience.

Program Enrichment

Significant resources, both in time and money, have been invested in enriching and extending the learning experiences of East Oak Cliff students. Among the major tasks being undertaken are the following:

1. Five subdistrict schools are currently using the Individually Guided Education (IGE) process. This process, successfully implemented in East Oak Cliff, has contributed to increasing academic student achievement in each of those five schools.

2. The subdistrict designed and implemented a new screening process for identifying talented and gifted pupils for its Pushing Excellence in Pupils (PEP) program. This process is more responsive to early identification of students of diverse ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds.

3. A group of 115 talented and gifted pupils from East Oak Cliff schools visited the King Tut exhibition in New Orleans. The total cost of over $10,000 was paid by parents. The tour lasted 4 days and included a trip to the Alabama-Coushatta Indian Reservation and a ferry boat ride down the Mississippi River.

4. The subdistrict has composed and published several major educational documents which support specific instructional programs. These documents include: "Pushing Excellent Pupils," "Watch Us, Grow," "Help Us Grow," and "Freedom To Be, Power To Move."

5. In collaboration with a local college, the East Oak Cliff Subdistrict has established a Precollegiate Model of learning for selected 12th grade sutdents from two subdistrict high schools. Students participating in the program enroll in and attend college level courses on the local campus.

6. The associate superintendent of the subdistrict has established African-American and Mexican-American Cultural Heritage Centers. These sites provide first-hand experiences with various cultures as extensions of the subdistrict's emphasis on pluralism and the total American experience. Plans are underway to open three additional cultural heritage centers focusing on the experiences of Asian Americans, Native Americans, and Euro-Americans.

At-elbow Assistance

Last, but not least, is a new concept to assist teachers in improving instructional techniques and in meeting individual student needs. This concept is a "floating faculty," a team of skilled instructional facilitators to assist individual schools. The team of facilitators visits schools on a regular basis, conferring with teachers and administrators, and providing many services.

We are seeing in the East Oak Cliff Subdistrict the value of shared decision making. We are reaching for a more humane use of power. As general superintendent, I see my role as that of providing support and reinforcement for an emerging idea and ideology. While it is far from perfect, there is evidence that parents, principals, teachers, and students are experiencing a measure of success in making learning experiences relevant and meaningful.

We must constantly explore ways of releasing the creative potential of the professional and paraprofessional personnel through maximizing the distinctive contributions and competencies of each person in the educational system.

Indeed, the educational system, its subsystem, and the societal systems that affect education are in need of major and minor readjustments to each other. The culprit is not the superintendent, or the school, or the education. We are all in this together.

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ED185228

A BUFFALO STORY

Eugene T. Reville

"Magnet schools increase the likelihood that a public educational system can keep its promise of serving every student's needs. They have become part of the accepted structure of educational directions in many large cities in the United States. By offering varied instructional approaches and educational alternatives, the school system recognizes the individual and group differences that are a part of the nation's strength."

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The Buffalo Public Schools have developed magnet schools to aid in their desegregation plan and to provide for different student needs and learning styles. Eugent T. Reville, Superintendent of the Buffalo Public Schools, describes seven of the city's magnet schools. Dr. Reville begins with a history of desegregation efforts in Buffalo and plans to desegregate the schools. In the second part of his paper, Dr. Reville details the approaches used by several Buffalo schools. The Academic Challenge Center, opened in 1977, is designed to meet concerns about declining reading and math test scores. The Buffalo Traditional School emphasizes traditional learning styles and puts high priority on personal discipline, high academic standards, the basic subject areas, and competitive sports. Campus East stresses clearly defined expectations and rules and strong parent involvement. Campus West, operated cooperatively with the State University College Learning Laboratory, emphasizes use of new instructional methods and the development of instructional materials. In Follow Through, classrooms are organized as learning centers and parents are actively involved as aides, volunteers, and members of an advisory council. Build Academy seeks effective community participation in academic planning. Dr. Reville also describes the Bennett Park Montessori School and the Buffalo Academy for Visual and Performing Arts.

Magnet schools is a name used to describe the alternative or specialty programs offered by the Buffalo Public Schools in 1977-78 in Phase II of the Buffalo Plan.

Attendance at magnet schools is voluntary and will give parents and students greater freedom of educational choice within the city school district. Magnet schools increase the likelihood that a public educational system can keep its promise of serving every student's needs. They have become part of the accepted structure of educational directions in many large cities in the United States. By offering varied instructional approaches and educational alternatives, the school system recognizes the individual and group differences that are a crucial part of the nation's strength.

Last year, an overwhelming public response resulted in the rapid filling of available student places in the two new magnet schools, Waterfront Elementary and City Honors School. This factor--and some 40 community meetings with parents and interested citizens--leads us to believe that the new magnet schools will be equally successful. Magnet schools are one choice parents can make for their children's school attendance in September 1978. Other choices include attendance at their regularly assigned school or participation in the voluntary Quality Integrated Education program (QIE).

The desegregation movement in Buffalo began to gain real impetus in 1964 when several Buffalo parents, on behalf of their children, filed an appeal with the Commissioner of Education charging that the Buffalo Public Schools were racially imbalanced and that the Board of Education refused to alleviate the imbalance.

This appeal was filed after the districting of Woodlawn Junior High School, a newly completed all Black school. In February 1965, the Commissioner held with the plaintiffs and stated, "It is incumbent upon the Board of Education to take into account the continued existence or potential creation of a school populated entirely or largely, by Negro pupils." The Board did not appeal the Commissioner's ruling. Commissioner Allen then ordered the Board of Education to prepare a plan, by May 1, 1965, for the progressive elimination of racial imbalance in the Buffalo Public Schools. The plan submitted by the Board did not meet with the Commissioner's approval because it failed "to come to grips realistically with the problem." A citizens committee was then appointed by the

Commissioner to assist him on the desegregation problems. This advisory committee submitted to the Board of Education, in August 1966, a proposal prepared by the New York City Center for Urban Education. It recommended the use of a middle school concept to aid the desegregation effort. In September 1966, the Commissioner ordered the Buffalo Board of Education to submit a further plan for desegregating the Buffalo Public Schools.

A 16-point proposal was approved by the Board and sent to the Commissioner in November 1966. This plan provided for the assignment to peripheral schools of as many sixth to eighth grade inner-city pupils as could be accommodated, and for the establishment of a Coordinator of Integration to facilitate "quality integrated education." The Board specifically stated that White students would not be transported to non-White neighborhoods. This plan also failed to gain the Commissioner's approval and the Board was again ordered to submit a detailed plan. In late January 1968, the Board produced a new plan, "Recommendations for Achieving Quality Integrated Education in the Buffalo Public Schools." The central features of the Board's plan was to restructure all the Buffalo Public Schools on a 4-4-4 basis and to establish "educational parks." This middle school plan, according to the court, would have effectively integrated the 5th through 12th grades but would have left grades 1 through 4 in their existing segregated state.

Commissioner Allen ordered that the Board report to him on the action taken to activate the proposals in this plan. In June 1969, the Board noted that some 2,000 inner-city children were being transported to so-called receiving schools It cited the difficulty it was having with its proposal for the use of portable classrooms in peripheral receiving schools and with appropriations from the Common Council of the City of Buffalo for middle school planning. If the middle school program had been implemented, integration probably could have been achieved on a fairly broad scale. However, the middle school concept faced stiff opposition from the Common Council of the city.

In responding to this report, Commissioner Ewald Nyquist, who had replaced Commissioner Allen, cited statistics showing that little actual integration had been effected as a result of the Board's proposals. The Commissioner requested that he be notified within 1 month of desegregation plans for the fall of 1969.

In the Board's report of July 1969, it noted the opening of integrated West Hertel Middle School, the use of portable classrooms located at peripheral schools, the expected increase from 2,040 to 2,600 of inner-city transfers to peripheral schools, and the possibility of suburban school district cooperation.

The Board continued to file reports with the Commissioner's office, outlining claimed progress in desegregation. In January 1972, Commissioner Nyquist told the Buffalo Board of Education that only "a new approach" could equalize educational opportunity in Buffalo. He ordered the Board to devise a new plan that would integrate the early grades as well as the 5th through 8th and 9th through 12th grades. Much of the Board's subsequent debates over the Commissioner's latest order centered on the question of busing. The Board informed the Commissioner in March that it was unable to develop the requested April

1972 desegregation plan. The Board also voted to file its own staff report, "A Study of Desegregation," which was called the Heck Report. This report proposed the restructuring of the Buffalo Public Schools into five large, pie-shaped neighborhoods, each extending outward from the center of the city. The Commissioner then sent a state task force to Buffalo in May of 1972 to develop a state plan for integrating the Buffalo Public Schools. This task force proposed two alternative plans, the first being the Heck Plan and the second a modified version of the Heck Plan. Both of these were submitted to the Board in November of 1972 with the request that a response be made by January 1973. After the Board's rejection of the State's integration plan, the Commissioner had a show-cause order drafted in August 1973. When the U.S. District Court case began on October 2, 1974, this order had not been served.

Desegregation Plan: Phase I

On April 30, 1976, Federal Judge John T. Curtin cited the Buffalo Board of Education, the Superintendent of Schools, the Commissioner of Education, and the Board of Regents for "de jure" segregation. The defendants were asked to develop and present desegregation plans to the court. On July 9, 1976, Judge Curtin accepted most of the Buffalo Plan. Under this plan, 10 elementary schools were closed (both minority and nonminority), eight other elementary schools were integrated, a middle school was changed to a junior high school (for the purpose of increasing minority population), and two city-wide magnet schools were created. The Waterfront School has an open education program for grades Pre-K through

6, and the City Honors has a program for the gifted, grades 5 through 12.

This plan was successfully implemented during the 1976-77 school year. However, before the Buffalo district was to reappear in Federal Court with the second phase, the Buffalo Board of Education deemed it critical that they meet with the communities throughout the city in order to assess their concerns and needs.

A total of 38 community meetings were held between October 1976 and January 1977. Staff from the Buffalo Schools Integration Office and administrators, teachers, and staff from the Division of Intercultural Relations (New York State Education Department) conducted the meetings. The Phase I plan was explained and many other alternative methods for integration were described, e.g., pairing, educational centers, magnet schools, etc. It became apparent to the staff that an overwhelming number of minority and nonminority parents wanted magnet schools, voluntary bussing, and choices. They believed that desegregation without provision for quality education at the end of the bus ride was a valueless concept.

Desegregation Plan: Phase II

Community input served as the basis for the Phase II plan cooperatively developed by Buffalo staff, university and college representatives, community persons, and parents. This plan proposed eight additional magnet schools. Their design was researched in terms of appeal to the total community as well as their educational value. The sites selected were innter-city schools for the purpose of bringing nonminority students into sections of the city they had previously avoided. The additional following designs were also utilized: changing assignments of students to specific academic high schools for racial balance; recruitment and selection of increased numbers of minority students in the voluntary Quality Integrated Education program (QIE) to go to South Buffalo and Riverside elementary schools; changing an inner-city high school to an Occupational Skills Center (housing no full-time student body); changing a South Buffalo junior high school into a senior high school in order to integrate the community by redistricting the feeder schools; phasing out a minority vocational school by placing new students in integrated sites that would now be able to provide the same program; and pairing Schools 54 and 22 according to a design developed by the parents of both communities. The plan further assured the Court that all schools would contain a minimum of 20% minority population. The heaviest concentration of racial isolation was occurring in the middle and junior high schools. Thus, they were closed. The students were reassigned throughout the city for the purpose of racial balance to what were formerly K-6 schools and are now K-8 schools. This has affected the total system's school-organizational pattern. This plan was approved and successfully implemented in September 1977.

The defendants and plaintiffs are still meeting with the Court to determine the future of 16 elementary schools unaffected by the Phase I and II plans.

Local Commitment to Implementing Plans

Buffalo has undertaken the following steps for the purpose of desegregating the schools:

1. provided human relations preservice for bus aides, bus drivers, aides, and cafeteria personnel in all schools affected by the plan;

2. provided human relations preservice for parent groups at schools affected by the plan;

3. provided human relations preservice for teaching staff at schools affected by the plan;

4. provided specialized training for teachers in the Montessori Magnet School;

5. designed and conducted a public relations campaign for magnet schools and the QIE program using LEA staff and materials;

6. remodeled and painted inner-city schools which were changed to magnet schools, e.g., Performing Arts, Montessori, etc.;

7. provided materials requisite to specific new programs;

8. provided aides to assist in schools;

9. provided security personnel at the schools;

10. provided inservice for administrators;

11. matched local services to Title I services in target area schools affected by desegregation to ensure student integration at the sites;

12. assigned LEA personnel to administer the magnet school Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) project;

13. assigned department of curriculum staff to assist all schools in planning;

14. provided LEA administrators for the purpose of supervising and evaluating ESAA reading and math personnel;

15. provided LEA administrator of aides to supervise and evaluate ESAA aides;

16. maintained on-going community meetings and contracted for a community survey;

17. developed multicultural resource units for specific grade levels; and

18. assumed all costs related to the ESAA Advisory Councils, e.g., meeting sites, printing, etc.

Description of the Magnet Schools

The Academic Challenge Center

The Academic Challenge Center opened in September 1977 as one of Buffalo's magnet schools, offering a diagnostic-prescriptive approach to education. The plan and design of this school's unique curriculum was based upon the following:

1. The concern that opinion polls, HEW, and numerous organizations have expressed over the decline in reading and math test scores.

2. The demand of parents who attended community meetings for improved services in the areas of reading and mathematics, and their indication that they would send their children to a school specifically designed to increase these skills.

The Academic Challenge Center was designed, with these concerns in mind, to offer an intensive, diagnostic-prescriptive program in the areas of reading and math. The goal of the school is to develop a personalized educational program for each child that reflects the child's needs and capabilities. Each student in the school is diagnosed through a variety of measurements to assess academic areas of strength and weakness. From these assessments, an individualized program is developed and implemented.

Within its first year of existence as a magnet, the school has demonstrated the potential to establish itself as a facility that can provide a unique curriculum to its students. The enrollment of increasing numbers of students attests to the fact that the school is establishing a reputation for academic excellence in an integrated setting. Presently, the school has enrolled 677 students, Pre-K through 7th grade. The 8th grade will be added next year.

The growing success of the school can be attributed to a number of features and accomplishments that are described in the following:

1. The development of an in-depth curricular design which focuses upon individual attention for each child.
2. The promise of a class-size ratio of 1 teacher per 20 students.
3. The services of supportive staff in the areas of reading and math.
4. The services of a diagnostic team which works closely with staff and parents to assess student needs.
5. The use of specific instructional programs in reading, math, and science which utilize the individualized approach.
6. The development of a Parent-Teacher Club which promotes positive interactions between multiracial and multiethnic groups of parents and staff. This group worked together to operate a carnival as a fund raiser for the school.
7. The development of an involved core of parents who volunteer their assistance on such activities as field trips and an ethnic studies program.

All of these accomplishments were achieved through the LEA's commitment to the development of this school's program. It is now necessary to build upon the Challenge Center's initial success and expand the program. This will maximize opportunities for the school to grow, extent its curriculum, and provide activities that will promote positive interactions between a culturally diverse population of parents, students, and staff.

The Buffalo Traditional School

The Buffalo Traditional School is one of the 10 city-wide magnets open to children from the entire city school district. The school currently enrolls 300 students in grades 5 through 9, and will expand one grade in each succeeding year until it will offer a full high school program in 1980.

The distinctive program of the Buffalo Traditional School emphasizes traditional learning styles that are the focus of the "back to basics" movement in American education. These include personal discipline, high academic standards, a strong emphasis on the basic subject areas, and participation in competitive sports. The school's orientation to the academics, discipline, and development of leadership skills is summarized in the following excerpt from the Buffalo Traditional School's handbook:

> The Traditional School is designed to enable its students: to develop academic skills, to develop personal discipline, and to develop leadership skills;
>
> 1. To stress both academic achievement, the school will emphasize basic skills development in reading, writing, mathematics, and study habits.

2. To stress personal discipline, the school will emphasize respect for authority, respect for others, and respect for one's self, leading to self esteem. In addition, emphasis will be placed on a competitive sports program featuring the only official Ice Hockey Program in the Buffalo Public School System. The Ice Hockey program was developed in conjunction with the Buffalo Sabres organization.

3. To stress leadership skills, the school will emphasize school organizations and community activities. At the present, the Student Council of the Buffalo Traditional School is planning a trip to Boston for the total student body of 300 students.

Several other distinct features of the school include a Junior Reserve Officers Training Corp Program (JROTC) developed in conjunction with Canisius College and the U.S. Army. This program, available to 9th grade students this year, is the only one of its kind in a public school in New York State.

Competitive scholarships of $500 each have been established in conjunction with the Buffalo Area Chamber of Commerce to be awarded to students in grades 9-12 who best exemplify the high academic, discipline, and leadership standards of the school. This year, two scholarships will be awarded to two 9th grade students and increased each year until eight scholarships will be awarded to students in grades 9 through 12.

The curriculum and course offerings of the Buffalo Traditional School are as follows:

Grades 5-6 Interdisciplinary Approach: English, Social Studies, Mathematics, and Science. Heavy stress on the teaching of the basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The classroom teachers will be supported by specialists in reading and mathematics labs, plus a multimedia center.

Grades 7-8 Advanced Development Approach: English, Social Studies, Mathematics, and Science. Block scheduling of classes to minimize corridor movement. Advanced skill development in reading, writing, arithmetic, and science. Prescribed standards in each academic subject or skills area must be completed before promotion to the next grade. In addition to health in the 7th grade, physical education, art in education, music, home economics, industrial arts, foreign languages of French, Spanish, and Latin will be offered.

Grade 9 Individualized Schedule: English, Social Studies, Mathematics, and Science. Special courses in physical education, art in education, music, home economics, industrial arts, foreign languages of French, Spanish, and Latin will be offered. In addition, a voluntary U. S. Army JROTC program for selected students will commence at this grade level. JROTC is a 4-year program to develop leadership skills.

As the school expands its programs to grades 10 through 12, electives will be limited, since all students will be expected to complete a prescribed academic program in order to receive the Buffalo Traditional diploma. This diploma will require a minimum of 22 credits, including 4 years each of science, foreign language, and mathematics.

During the city-wide magnet school recruitment campaign conducted in spring and summer of 1977, the Buffalo Traditional School remained disappointingly undersubscribed by nonminority parents and students. In community meetings held throughout the district to plan the type of magnet programs parents desired, it was apparent from the numerous meetings held, that a large number of parents desired a strong traditional school program with an emphasis on the basics. However, the long association of the former Woodlawn Junior High School as an all-minority, inner-city school with acute disciplinary problems and chronically low achievement, greatly deterred recruitment, especially among nonminority parents. Many minority parents over the years had slowly withdrawn their children from this school so that, coupled with district-wide declines in school age population, caused the school's enrollment to decline from 1,200 in 1965 to a mere 200 students in the 1976-77 school year. The location and districting of Woodlawn Junior High School was also a major factor in the court case which resulted in the desegregation order under which the Buffalo Public Schools are currently operating. Many desegregation battlelines were drawn around this particular school, and many community members felt it was an unfortunate choice for the establishment of a traditional magnet school program. Few observers felt that the school would be able to attract nonminority students despite the evident community preference for its magnet theme.

Final Court approval of this magnet school was delayed until August because of lagging applications. However, a strong administration, a determined, specially selected teaching staff, and an active and committed parent and community group pooled their efforts and recruited a total of 300 students, 50% minority and 50% nonminority, for the fall of 1977.

Despite predictions to the contrary, the Buffalo Traditional School is becoming a successful magnet school. The school has even attracted suburban applicants for the coming school year. School staff and parents are hopeful that their goal of 600 students for the coming school year will be met.

Campus East

Campus East, formerly an inner-city middle school with a 99.5% minority population, was established as one of Buffalo's 10 magnet schools in September 1977. The program at the school was designed on the basis of the tremendous community interest and desire to develop a "back to basics" approach to learning. The curriculum stresses the mastery of all basic subjects--language arts, science, math, and social studies--with an emphasis on structure, organization, and discipline in teaching and learning, as well as on behavior. The environment is excellent for students who learn best when expectations are clearly defined, evaluation standards are identified, and rules are articulated. Interwoven throughout the instructional program is a social studies model focusing on the development of traditional American values, i.e., patriotism, citizenship, brotherhood, etc.

The school is divided into five forms, with each form encompassing two grade levels:

Form I	Pre-K and all-day Kindergarten
Form II	Grades 1 and 2
Form III	Grades 3 and 4
Form IV	Grades 5 and 6
Form V	Grades 7 and 8

This organization facilitates a closely articulated "back to basics" academic program. Teachers are able to share in planning, developing, and implementing the activities for the continuity necessary in this type of program.

In its first year, the initial developmental stages of the magnet program at Campus East have been very successful. Parent responses to a survey asking for their comments attest to this fact.

The reading and math enrichment programs in all grades have served, in a limited fashion thus far, to expand and enrich the students' experiences in each field. The staff and resources of the Library-Media Center have supported and extended experiences in the classroom. A student government model has been designed and is operating under the guidelines of a constitution drawn up by the students. Monthly tasks are undertaken by third, fourth, fifth, and sixth grade students involved in the program. The physical education program has served to attract community attention as well. In addition to a typical physical education program, swimming, not usually available in elementary schools, is taught to all students.

Integrated into all aspects of the school program is the hearing handicapped component of the Buffalo Public Schools. The students have been mainstreamed and are functioning within regular classrooms.

Parent involvement is the key to student success at Campus East. Before students are accepted into the school, parents must sign an agreement showing they understand the school's philosophy and will support the school's program and its requirements. Since homework is an integral part of the instructional program, parents are expected to supervise and encourage its completion. Parents are asked to reinforce school activities, participate in school functions, and meet with teachers on a regular basis. They also receive weekly and more detailed monthly evaluation of student involvement.

In conjunction with Buffalo State College, Campus East has served as a demonstration site for traditional education by offering student teachers and junior participants experiences in the field. They have worked with the industrial arts and hearing handicapped program, as well as in the pre-kindergarten where a college course was taught giving students an opportunity to work directly with pre-kindergarten children.

As a result of developing the magnet school program, students from 61 different schools in Buffalo, some of which were racially isolated, were brought together. Their experiential backgrounds were as diverse as the number of schools from which they came. As a result, each classroom contains students from many different cultures and ethnic groups possessing a wide range of abilities, interests, and experiences. Parents whose children attend Campus East selected this school because it offered a special curriculum with a "back to basics" approach. In order to maintain this racially diverse population and attract additional support, it is imperative that the programs be further developed while providing for the wide diversity that exists.

Campus West

Campus West, a joint venture established in September 1977 as one of Buffalo's Magnet Schools, was developed as a result of the search for ways in which Buffalo and the State University College Learning Laboratory could work together in the desegregation of the Buffalo schools. Based on the belief that children have a desire to learn, and learn best when activities are based on their interests and real-life experiences, the school provides an open environment, rich with a wide variety of learning materials and activities which can be tailored to each child's individual needs and abilities. The laboratory school, with its commitment to research, development, and demonstration, emphasizes exploration of new instructional methodologies, development of instructional materials, updating curricular offerings, and careful monitoring of pupil progress.

The modern building with its open-space design easily facilitates the team-teaching program and maximizes opportunities for interaction of students and staff. The students are organized in multiage, multigrade groupings called Clusters, each staffed by a team of teachers and teacher aides, with additional services provided by pupil support services and a team of specialists (such as counselors, art teachers, and media persons).

Each Cluster Team is responsible for deciding how to group children and arrange the learning environment. Although there is a great deal of diversity in the instructional programs within Campus West, there are certain characteristics shared by all Clusters:

1. attention to the individual abilities and needs of each child;
2. flexibility in grouping and scheduling;
3. frequent use of learning centers and individualized instructional materials;
4. inclusion of support teams in planning the child's instructional

program; and

5. emphasis on development of responsibility and self-control in addition to academic performance.

Campus West has also had a highly respected program for the handicapped in operation since 1967. For the third consecutive year, a Mainstreaming Program has been in effect, whereby students with handicapping conditions receive all or some of their instruction in regular classrooms and are involved in programs offered to the rest of the school.

With the inception of the magnet school program at Campus West, a tribasal developmental reading program was implemented, beginning in the primary grades and extending through the seventh and eighth grades. Children were diagnosed through the administration of standardized and informal tests, and were placed in programs according to their abilities.

In addition to the developmental reading, two other programs have been adopted and are currently in operation at Campus West: the Comprehensive School Mathematics Program (CSMP) and the Buffalo Unified Learning Approach project (BULA).

In addition to the programs in operation at Campus West, its location has served to make the school a truly unique magnet. Already, 39 college professors have worked with Campus West staff in implementing the curriculum by (a) serving as consultants in inservice training, (b) providing classroom assistance and demonstrations, and (c) furnishing student teachers, junior year participants, and tutors to assist classroom teachers in providing more small group and one-to-one training experiences for students. Large numbers of college students (sophomores, juniors, ans seniors) have been assigned to the school for their field experiences.

A number of outstanding community facilities, such as the Albright-Know Art Gallery and the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, are within walking distance of Campus West. These rich cultural and academic sites provide resources to enrich the children's experiences which are unavailable elsewhere.

With the diversification of role models (teachers, college students, professors), the expansion of curricular offerings, the exploration of new educational options, and the involvement with cultural resources in close proximity to the school, Campus West offers educational opportunities not available in any other school in Buffalo. In addition, through the interaction of students, teachers, and parents of different races and ethnic backgrounds, Learning Lab and the Buffalo Public Schools have provided integration in its true sense--acceptance of every individual's unique characteristics. Next year, and in years to follow, Campus West will build on these accomplishments and expand its existing programs in order to make it an excellent and unique learning facility.

The Bennett Park Montessori School

The Bennett Park Montessori School, designed as an educational magnet capable of attracting and maintaining a voluntary population representative of the racial composition of the school district, opened in September 1977. The selection of a Montessori program as part of Buffalo's magnet school plan for quality integrated education developed on two accounts:

1. Montessori programs, long respected in the field of education, were usually available only to those families who could afford private school tuition costs. Now this educational approach would be available to the total city population.

2. Parents attending community meetings responded enthusiastically when presented with the Montessori option. They definitely would send their children to a Montessori School.

Buffalo's Montessori School, a unique combination of Montessori educational methodology with supplemental activities designed to provide opportunities for positive interracial interactions and parent involvement, has gained and continues to gain support from throughout the entire school community. After only 7 months of program development and implementation, there is ample evidence that the Buffalo Montessori School has been established as a viable integrated educational option.

The success of the Montessori School can be attributed to a number of factors. These include:

1. An ambitious group of key personnel responsible for the design and implementation of a unique and distinctive Montessori program suited to the needs of the Buffalo community.

2. An enthusiastic, energetic Montessori-trained staff committed to meeting the individual instructional needs of the culturally diverse school population.

3. Supportive parents committed to a quality educational program.

4. Excited children eager to learn from their school and their peers.

The gradual process of program development at the Montessori School has focused upon addressing the needs of children experiencing a newly integrated school setting and the needs of a staff searching for ways of adapting curricula and individualizing instruction. The following list of Montessori School "happenings" highlights this development:

1. Summer 1978: Prior to the opening of school, the teaching staff plans and organizes activities supporting the Montessori process.

2. September 1978: Buffalo Montessori opens in a former elementary school building in the downtown redevelopment area. It is freshly painted and warmly carpeted; an inviting atmosphere.

3. September 1978: Open House, with an attendance of 222 people, is a tremendous success.

4. September 1978: An active parent organization is established and a variety of volunteer committees are formed to offer support and assistance in making Montessori work.

5. December 1978: Staff and families attend the first annual multicultural family holiday celebration.

6. Ongoing: Workshops provide training for parents and teachers in (a) utilizing Montessori techniques at home, (b) meeting individual needs with Montessori techniques, (c) utilizing multicultural materials in the classroom, and (d) integrating art, movement, and music techniques into classroom curriculum.

7. Ongoing: Private funding provides a 30-week artist-in-residence program for Montessori children.

8. Ongoing: Volunteers provide a painting and arts history program

for Montessori children.

The Montessori Program has long been recognized as a viable approach to the academic, social, emotional, and physical development of the child. As such, it has been a strong drawing card in Buffalo's court-ordered desegregation plan.

Prior to the inception of the magnet school program, parents from a wide cross section of Buffalo were vocal proponents of the neighborhood school concept. As leaders of parent and teacher groups, they actively worked to promote school and community spirit and involvement within the neighborhood school framework. Many of these parents were decidedly opposed to busing for any reason. However, after careful examination of the educational options provided by the Montessori Magnet and other magnet schools as well, many parents committed themselves to the magnet school concept of quality integrated education.

The degree of support and enthusiasm these parents once reserved for neighborhood schools is presently in evidence at the Montessori Magnet School. Parent participation in school activities is greater than anticipated and continues to grow.

The past months of planning and development of the Montessori instructional program together with activities promoting student, parent, and staff interaction have maximized the benefits of integrated education and contributed to the success of the Montessori School. Regular meetings involving parents, staff, and community, as well as periodic informational publications which communicate concerns, disseminate information, and act as an idea forum, are necessary to guarantee continued support for the Montessori Program, maintenance of the present school population, and ongoing recruitment city-wide.

While it is essential that parents and community become actively involved in the planning and policy development of the Montessori school, it is equally essential that they become active participants in each child's educational experiences. The importance of parent involvement in a child's education cannot be stressed enough. Recognizing this importance, the Buffalo Montessori school provides, as an integral feature of its program, an environment which encourages family and school sharing and communication. In particular, this environment seeks to enhance individual self-concept and worth, develop positive attitudes toward living in an integrated society, and provide experiences which promote positive interaction and understanding.

Follow Through

Aptly named Follow Through, this magnet school program is based upon the idea that good early childhood education affects a child's whole life and learning. It builds upon the gains made in a child's earliest years of learning which are the years of most rapid development and the cornerstone of all future achievement.

Children learn in a program designed to provide for their individual differences. Each child moves at his or her own pace through selected learning activities in a classroom environment that is warm and positive. This is known as the "responsive environment" because materials and methods of teaching are selected to respond to each child's rate of learning, learning style, and personal characteristics.

Classrooms are organized as learning centers where children are encouraged to try a variety of learning materials including manipulative materials, printed materials, and audiovisual equipment such as the electric typewriter and language masters. Teachers and aides work with individual children and in small groups. Each child's work is valued and displayed to build confidence and to develop intellectual growth. Thus, the child learns from the different materials and teaching methods that are most appropriate and are, at the same time, personalized for his or her particular learning style.

Certified teachers are selected by this program and are required to continue professional training throughout the year. A full-time aide is employed in every classroom as part of the teaching team. Aides are selected from parents of children in the program who are interested in receiving specialized training. A half-day pre-kindergarten program, an all-day kindergarten program, and classes in grades 1-6 will be offered.

Follow Through also employs the services of a full-time nurse, psychologist, social worker, and community aide for school health services, counseling, and home visits.

Parents are actively involved in the Parent Advisory Council and as classroom volunteers. Student progress is reported to parents through traditional methods as well as personal conferences held twice a year.

Build Academy

Build Academy has been a popular model of what is known as a community-based school. One of its goals is to ensure strong, effective community participation in the educational decision-making process. Under the new magnet plan, it has moved to a larger facility and expanded its program. With this move, children from all over the city are welcome to participate in this innovative pre-kindergarten through grade seven program.

The learning environment is based upon a multiple approach to education including team teaching with both formal and informal instructional designs tailored to meet the unique needs of each child. Parents are heavily involved in contributing to academic planning for their child and are made to feel that they are truly an important part of their child's learning experience. Children are encouraged to develop positive feelings about themselves and their culture. In a Build classroom, teacher and child learn together. The teacher creates a learning environment structured around a variety of learning centers which arouse the child's curiosity and set the stage for learning which is self-motivated, self-directed, self-disciplined, and self-paced. The teacher acts as the catalyst for the child's learning.

The Build program offers all day pre-kindergarten and kindergarten instruction. It utilizes a dynamic Library Media Center with full-time staffing, and involves parents in the classroom and in hobby clubs to share their expertise and talents. Teacher assistants, with training in the use of learning centers, reinforce the educational program. A corrective reading and mathematics program meets the needs of children with learning difficulties in these areas. A student honor code helps to develop future citizens who are able to accept responsibility. The

Policy Board of this school consists of parent representatives, State University College staff, and representatives from the Buffalo Board of Education. This board reviews, discusses, and recommends policies and projects that directly affect students of the Academy.

The Buffalo Academy for Visual and Performing Arts

The Buffalo Academy for Visual and Performing Arts was established and opened in September 1977, as one of several magnet schools under the Buffalo Phase II Integration Plan. It offers a core program of visual and performing arts interrelated with the academic program to meet the needs of students in grades 5 to 10 with artistic interests.

Unique content of program, highly qualified staff, and special facilities constitute the essence of this magnet school's attractiveness. It provides a distinctive program of educational excellence unavailable elsewhere in the City School Department of Western New York public schools. In the earliest stages of planning, it was unanimously agreed upon by school staff and consultants in each arts area, that our goal would be to offer a professional approach to the arts that prepares the student with skills necessary for a career in the arts, or entrance into private studio or higher education arts training programs which are very competitive. This was preferred to a general aesthetics-based approach to education or learning through the arts. This philosophy affected qualifications needed in hiring teachers, space renovations and facilities needed, and curriculum planning.

To implement this philosophy of arts education, flexible scheduling at the academy allows each student to attend regular academic classes and provides a block of studio class time daily in all of the five major areas of the visual and performing arts: fine arts, dance, drama, music, and telecommunications.

Research on voluntarily integrated programs indicates that where schools have the foresight to systematically plan and implement a distinctive curriculum with full teacher involvement, flexible scheduling, teacher recruitment, reassignment and training, the chances for success are greater. A studied approach to increasing interracial awareness and understanding, a continuing effort to recruit and educate parents and students about the magnet option, and the extensive use of outside resources as human and material expertise - all are capable of creating great magnetism.

The success we have had this past year in establishing a magnet school for the performing arts attracting students across racial lines is related to this research, and to ESAA funding for the special curriculum. It is summarized in our accomplishments thus far.

Accomplishments

Planning. Weekly planning meetings for establishing an Academy for the Visual and Performing Arts began in February, 1977. A Central Advisory Committee was formed, including Central Office Administrators from each arts area, the building principal, and teachers. Five sub-committees were then formed, one in each arts area, including administrators, teachers, a Teacher's Federation representative, university arts program consultants, private professional artists and representatives of local cultural agencies. Each subcommittee met over a period of 5 months to develop detailed plans for: Physical plant alterations; structuring the curriculum; student application procedures; criteria and selection of staff; flexible scheduling; and a series of informational meetings for parents and students in each section of the city.

Special facilities. Extensive plant alterations to date represent a local commitment of 2 million dollars to accommodate the special curriculum. Special facilities include conversion of the auditorium into a full theatre with proscenium and arena thrust stage; an art gallery in the foyer of the theater; and construction of an intimate "black-box" studio for improvisational theater. Four dance studios have been created with engineered floors, installation of bars, mirrors, and lighting. Individual music practice rooms have been partitioned off and band practice rooms have been constructed and sound-proofed. Another area holds drama studios and a scenery workshop with direct access to the mainstage. Two radio and TV studios are located near a photography dark room.

This year the Academy housed grades 5-9 and will expand by 1 grade per year until a full grade 5-12 program is offered in 1980.

Staffing. Teacher reassignment and recruitment has resulted in high quality staffing. Studio arts teachers were interviewed, screened, and selected by the art, music, drama, and auidovisual departments according to multiple criteria: certification in the particular arts area; excellence of studio training; demonstrated teaching ability; professional experience as performing or exhibiting artists; and active participation in the cultural life of the community. In the case of dance education, traditionally an uncertified area for public schools, extreme care was taken in selecting staff with educational, as well as performing, credentials. The innovation of offering a full-graded curriculum in both classical ballet and contemporary dance prompted us to enlist university and professional artistic advice, establish selection criteria, and advertise throughout the northeastern section of the country. We had a response from over 30 candidates. University cooperation gave us access to classes and enabled us to conduct teaching auditions for local and out-of-town applicants in both dance areas in the month of July 1977. Classroom teachers who showed interest and experience in the arts and interdisciplinary teaching also were selected.

The design for this school was originally planned on the basis of community input, specifically on requests for the option of a magnet school in which students might pursue an intensive study of visual and performing arts as a part of their public school education. In the first year of operation, parents and community have been extensively involved in the ongoing educational program at the Academy. On a one-to-one basis they are our best ambassadors and recruiters.

The visual and performing arts serve as a medium of communication between students of different racial, cultural, and social backgrounds. Success in the arts is less frequently limited by the disadvantages associated with minority group isolation. Therefore, a public school program which provides training in the visual and performing arts will increase opportunities for minority students to interact positively and successfully with nonminority students.

In addition, this public school arts program has increased educational opportunities for minority students. Private art programs, while available in the inner city, are usually oversubscribed and often prohibitively expensive for minority students.

Projected enrollment will require approximately 12 additional LEA staff members in the arts and academic areas. ESAA funds are necessary to provide staff training in intercultural methods and materials designed to reach all students. Also, the underlying need upon which the concept of this magnet school is based is the need to provide educational excellence through distinctive programming. Thus, as we expand, we must maintain a solid planning effort and constant communication among departmental and academic staff to maintain the quality of the arts and basic curricula and plan for flexible scheduling to accommodate it.

Obviously, we are not going to have time to rest--on our laurels or on anything else. As Mark Twain said, "eternal rest sounds comforting in the pulpit but you try it once and see how heavy time will hang on your hands." Buffalo's Board of Education, school administrators and teaching staff do not view the opening of magnet schools as an end to their efforts. Instead, they see the whole magnet program as the end of the beginning of their efforts.

Paul Valery noted that "the trouble with our times is that the future is not what it used to be." I'd have to take some exception to that. I'd say that we are coming closer to making the future what the students in the Public Schools want and need it to be.

ED185229

A ST. LOUIS STORY

MAGNET SCHOOLS--A MEANS TO AN END

Robert Wentz

"We have not solved all of our problems, but magnet schools are one means toward a most desirable end--improved educational learning opportunities for young people and a healthier urban hope."

UD020535

The St. Louis Public Schools have also used magnet schools to meet the goals of desegregating the system and improving the quality of education for students. Robert Wentz, Superintendent of the St. Louis Public Schools, points out that magnet schools are not a new phenomenon, the first actually having been established in St. Louis in 1879. Dr. Wentz reviews the legal background of the changes in St. Louis, beginning with a Consent Judgment and Decree issued late in 1975. He describes the Consent Decree as unique, outlines its contents, and details problems that arose as the St. Louis schools sought to implement the decree. Financial problems were dealt with in part by a tax rate increase and funding through the Emergency School Aid Act. Delays as the federal government reviewed the funding proposal precipitated several other problems, including difficulties in recruiting students, selecting sites, providing for student transportation, supplying materials, and staffing the programs. Finally, Dr. Wentz describes the results of the program evaluation indicating that while the program has had no dramatic effect on student achievement, positive results from the magnet schools are shown in social climate, staff satisfaction, and parental support.

Prototypes to Contemporary Magnet Schools

The magnet school or alternative school story began for St. Louis in 1879 when a school especially equipped to handle deaf children was opened by the public school system. This was a truly unique alternative for children with special needs. From that point on there has been an interesting array of alternatives afforded young people in the city of St. Louis, as shown by these selected examples:

1.	Mentally Retarded	1907
2.	Hospital School	1919
3.	Sight Conservation	1923
4.	Orthopedically Handicapped	1925
5.	Hard of Hearing	1927
6.	Gifted	1955
7.	Continued Education (young unwed mothers)	1969

The discerning skeptic is probably saying that such alternatives are all focused on the various categories of "special education," and that is correct. Nonetheless, they are true forms of alternatives, some offered as voluntary programs and others as mandatory.

The list is not restricted to special education; the alternatives also include:

1. Vocational and Technical Education

Central	1927
Hadley Technical	1929
O'Fallon Vocational-Technical	1956

2. Tutorial High School (1963). Special centers for students who don't fit the "traditional" mold and were either forced out or dropped out of regular high schools.

3. Honors Arts High School Program (1966). A program for talented youngsters that originally began with only 8 students and continues today with approximately 150 artistically gifted young people.

4. Work-study High School (1970). A high school where young people can earn while they learn work skills that will help them land a good job and prepare them for additional training after graduation if they so desire.

5. Metro High School (1972). This high school for 120-150 students is built on the concept of a school "without walls." Its curriculum is designed by the staff in consultation with students and parents and is revised regularly; it truly offers community-based learning experiences.

I hope my point is clear; the concept of magnet and alternative schools is not a new phenomenon. In St. Louis we have several prototypes to assist us in shaping new alternatives in order to meet the special needs and interests of our students.

The Consent Judgment and Decree

In order to understand the magnet school thrust in St. Louis, one must review the legal background that reached a peak when Federal District Judge James Meredith issued a Consent Judgment and Decree on December 24, 1975. St. Louis Public Schools were sued by a group of Black parents on February 18, 1972, charging the system with fostering segregative practices and discriminating against Black youngsters. The suit had been in the Court for over 3 1/2 years when I joined the system as Superintendent on October 20, 1975, and one of the first basic questions I raised with the Board and the school attorneys was: "Is there another approach that might bring the expensive, laborious, and time-consuming litigation process to a halt and at the same time move the system ahead in meeting some unmet educational needs of young people?" One of our competent attorneys, Paul Rava, suggested an excellent solution; the possibility of a Consent Decree.

To make a long story short, the plaintiffs and defendant school district put their heads together, agreed to some measures or directions that would be mutually satisfactory, and submitted them to the Judge for his review and action. He responded favorably with the issuance of the Consent Decree, and we began the Bicentennial Year in a flurry of activity possibly unprecedented in the life of the St. Louis Public Schools. The two major goals of the Consent Decree were to further reduce racial isolation (desegregate the system) and to improve the quality of educational experiences for young people. I suppose if there is a uniqueness about the St. Louis story it can be found in the Consent Decree; to my knowledge it was the only such decree of record dealing with school desegregation and magnet schools. Most school systems under court-ordered desegregation have what is referred to as a "General Decree" (such as Dallas), or a "Partial Decree" (such as Milwaukee). The distinctive difference of our Consent Decree is its brevity (it is only six pages in length) and its provision for broad guidelines allowing the system to develop specific programs that will satisfy the language of the decree, thus maintaining the maximum degree of local control possible under court-ordered desegregation.

The critical elements or requirements of the Consent Decree are as follows:

5. With regard to the personnel of the St. Louis Public Schools, the defendants are directed and ordered to take the following measures which are necessary or proper in order to reduce racial segregation:

   a) Effective before the beginning of the 1976-1977 school year, defendants shall have planned, developed and carried out a program through volunteers and, if necessary, through mandatory appointments and assignments, to provide a minimum of two regular classroom teachers and no less than 10% of the minority teachers and other staff of either race in each school of the system.

b) The minimum percentages provided for in the preceding paragraph shall be increased by defendants to no less than 20% of the minority teachers and other staff of either race in each school of the system before the beginning of the 1977-1978 school year, and to 30% of the teachers and other staff before the beginning of the 1978-1979 school year. (Consent Judgment and Decree. Issued by Judge James Meredith of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Missouri, December 24, 1975, p. 6.)

8. To the extent which is consistent with the proper operation of the school system as a whole, defendants shall locate any new schools, lease new classroom facilities or substantially expand existing schools with the objective of eradicating the effects of past and present segregation in the public schools of the City of St. Louis.

9. Before the beginning of the 1977-1978 school year, defendants shall make a study of realignments of all elementary feeder schools to the academic high schools for the purpose of reducing racial isolation and segregation at the said high schools, and shall submit a report thereon to the Court, on or before January 15, 1977, with implementation to begin September, 1977.

10. The defendants are hereby ordered to make a study and report to the Court on or before May 1, 1976, as to whether or not the following items will assist in eliminating or reducing segregation:

a) Establishing elementary magnet schools with specialized curriculum, having an open enrollment by application.

b) Establishing high schools for the study of the visual and performing arts, for the study of mathematics and physical and natural sciences, and other subject areas, such schools having open enrollment by city-wide application.

c) Recognizing that the above measures are basically experimental in nature, a study of the feasibility of curriculum improvements or other changes that should be instituted in the system as a whole shall be undertaken for the purpose of increasing the quality of education throughout the system, all within the context of reducing racial isolation in the schools and with the goal of desegregating the school system. A report shall be made to the Court by May 1, 1976, with implementation beginning with the school year 1976-1977. (Consent Judgment and Decree, p. 5.)

Obviously, the language of the Decree that bears most directly on this discussion is the language found in paragraphs 10a and 10b. It should also be obvious that the language expresses ideas that are an attempt to focus on the two previously stated goals: reduction of racial isolation and the improvement of educational experiences.

Process and Problems

In the 1975-76 school year the St. Louis Public Schools were operating on a General Fund budget of 96 million dollars and providing services to over 87,000 young people. The system was financially strapped and faced an operational deficit of $4-5 million in 1976-77. A successful tax rate increase campaign on April 27, 1976, averted financial, as well as educational, disaster, but certainly did not eliminate the frugality of educational programming. To finance magent schools, additional resources would be necessary and the logical source appeared to be the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA). The deadline for the submittal of an ESAA proposal was Friday, February 13, 1976. Familiarity with ESAA guidelines was somewhat helpful, and we quickly arranged to invite 24 persons (parents, staff, students, and other citizens) to be part of our advisory committee and to meet with us in an all-day session on Friday, January 16, 1976. We also invited Don Waldrip from Cincinnati, Aubrey McCutcheon from Detroit, Bernard Watson from Philadelphia, and Charles Rankin from the General Assistance Center at the University of Missouri to facilitate our discussion on exploring the magnet school concept. It was interesting that altogether some 75 persons showed up for the session.

At the conclusion of January 16, we had about 20 different ideas that had potential for magnet schools, including the two examples mentioned in the Consent Decree. Beginning on Saturday, January 17, 1976, our staff did what many said could not be done; we wrote, edited, conducted a public hearing, secured ESAA advisory committee approval, secured Board of Education approval, and hand delivered a comprehensive ESAA Basic, as well as Pilot project, proposal to the Regional Office of Education in Kansas City prior to the 4:00 p.m. deadline on February 13, 1976. We had condensed 6 months work into 4 weeks. Then the frustrating, aggravating, agonizing, and exasperating "Federal waiting and delay game" began and did not culminate until we were notified of funding on August 30, 1976, just 3 weeks prior to the opening day of school in September. A proposal that took 4 weeks to complete took 6 months for Office of Education (OE) and Office of Civil Rights (OCR) review and final determination.

I will present a brief description of each magnet school we eventually implemented in the next section of this discussion. But, again, in order to understand the St. Louis story, you need to have a feel for some of the major problems we encountered. I will not bore you with the minor problems. Hopefully, my comments on these problems may enable you to minimize problems in planning your own programs.

I've already mentioned the first and by far the most serious problem; the serious and damaging delays as the Federal Government moved through the review process and notification of funding. I should point out, however, that the OC was primarily responsible for the major delays. We should all be demanding that the entire Office of Health, Education, and Welfare be more responsive to local school systems; the delays are unwarranted, inexcusable, and intolerable. Legislation could require a 30 day review by the regional office of HEW; if no response was made in 30 days, 50% of the funding requested would be granted and the proposal automatically proceed to HEW in Washington. Again, the Washington offices would have 30 days to review and respond; if no response was made in 30 days, the local district automatically would receive 100% of the funds requested. Such legislation is not without precedence; look at the review process for proposals submitted under the Public Works Act, and you will see a similar process already operational. With the recent reorganization in HEW to improve efficiency, a review process of 60 days is reasonable.

All of our remaining problems sprang primarily from this first problem. The second major problem evolved around the recruitment of students for the magnet schools. Our goal was to have 3,200 students enrolled in 9 magnet programs located in 11 sites throughout the city. The entire recruitment process took place during the late summer months when contact with students and parents was very limited. We were fortunate to secure the services of Waldrip and Associates from Cincinnati to assist us in this process, and we were able to reach 75% of the student enrollment goal by enrolling 2,400 students to begin classes on September 7, 1976. We were striving for a racial mix of 50% Black, 50% White in each of the 11 schools with a leeway of 70%, 30% either way to remain within ESAA guideline tolerance. Our final overall percentage turned out to be 56% Black, 44% White. Two small schools did not reach the bottom line 70%, 30% cutoff point, which meant they had to be dropped from ESAA funding but were maintained through general fund monies. In our second year we increased the student population by approximately 1,500, and the overall racial composition shifted to approximately 66% Black, 34% White. The third major problem related to the selection of sites for six elementary school magnet programs, one middle school program, and two high school magnet programs. Our ESAA Advisory Committee and our staff were heavily involved in this process. On the surface selection of sites may seem to be a rather simple task since certain guidelines were established, and there was a declining student enrollment over the past 10 years. We essentially wanted sites distributed throughout the city in facilities that would cause minimal displacement of local students. In other words, we didn't want to force 500 young people out of a building in order to create space for a magnet program if it could be avoided. Obviously the facility had to reasonably accommodate the distinct needs of the magnet program, such as science labs for a Science and Math Academy. Site selection proved to be a conflict-producing process which continued into the second year.

The fourth major problem evolved around student transportation which was one of our most persistent problems. During the first year, drivers got lost, children were left behind, buses ran hours late, drivers showed up at the wrong schools, drivers picked up the wrong children, and drivers went on strike in the middle of the year. In addition to these specifics, the entire operation was generally inefficient. Again, an extremely late start just prior to the opening of school resulted in some serious and, at times, hilarious experiences. Needless to say, we changed to a different charter service during our current year (1977-78), and the experiences have been most satisfactory.

The fifth major problem was our inability to deliver all the materials, supplies, and special equipment necessary to conduct all of the instructional programs. If you are going to provide a computer-assisted mathematics program and can't get approval to bid for the equipment until November, you obviously have problems producing some aspects of your program. Improvising was necessary, and I must say that creative staff, coupled with cooperative citizens, businessmen, and private enterprises helped overcome some ticklish problems.

The sixth and last major problem was the selection and placement of staff. This is another of those long stories that I will shorten, probably to the point of losing its impact. Essentially we could not assign staff to the magnet schools until we were sure of our funding from the federal government. Even though we had spent the summer screening, interviewing, and tentatively assigning staff, we could not bring closure on the assignments and proceed with the needed staff development. Once we were able to confirm the appointments in the magnet schools, after August 20, 1976, we had many slots to fill in the regular schools. The opening of school in the fall of 1976 reminded me of the growth period of the 50's and early 60's when you always opened school while still recruiting staff for the classrooms; only this time staff balance had to be carefully controlled.

I would like to share with you an eleven minute slide presentation that is a better "show and tell" than my paper. This slide show will take the place of section IV in my written and oral presentation.

The Magnet Schools

The following thumbnail sketches of each school do an injustice to each program. Although they give you a brief overview, they do not adequately describe the diversity and richness of each school.

Academy of Basic Instruction

Grades: K-8

Schools: Mallinckrodt
Waring

Enrollment: 314
350

This program emphasizes discipline and order in teaching and behavior. Reading, language, mathematics, science, and social studies are taught in a traditional manner.

A code of conduct and dress, which must be followed by all students, has been developed by staff, parents, and students. Parents are expected to support this code. Violation of the code could mean dismissal from the Academy.

The program fosters traditional American values such as patriotism, brotherhood, dignity, pride, and respect for self and others.

Action Learning and Career Education Center

Grades: K-8

School: Madison

Enrollment: 264

This program emphasizes career awareness and basic skills needed in the community and the world of work. Students acquire and learn to apply reading, writing, and arithmetic skills through actual working experiences, where possible. In addition, students have an opportunity to participate in community service programs.

A variety of instructional materials, resource persons, and learning experiences are used. The program helps students develop the ability to think and make decisions on their own.

Computer Managed Learning

Grades: K-8

School: Ames

Enrollment: 551

Computer managed learning is the most highly individualized program offered as part of the magnet schools. A computer assists the teacher in analyzing student needs and recommends a day-to-day learning program designed especially for the individual student. The individualized programs cover language arts, mathematics, social studies, and science.

Individually Guided Education (IGE)

Grades: K-8

School: Wade

Enrollment: 387

The IGE program replaces traditional age and grade classrooms with groupings of students based on needs, interests, and personal characteristics. Teachers, with the assistance of teacher aides, provide each student with special individual attention. Students learn according to their own rates, styles (discussion groups, independent study, group research, etc.), and levels of motivation. A variety of learning resources are available to students. Progress is measured by tests, observation, and student work samples.

The IGE program was developed by the Research and Development Center of the University of Wisconsin. Over 2,000 IGE programs operate successfully in the 50 states.

Investigative Learning Center

Grades: K-8

School: Stix

Enrollment: 384

The Investigative Learning Center is designed for students who are curious about the world around them and are interested in learning by discovery. The program emphasizes science, but all academic areas are taught through the investigative approach.

Pupils have the opportunity to do individual research, attend seminars, and learn from nearby community resources. Field trips include a study of pond ecology at Forest Park, plant ecology at Missouri Botanical Garden, animal behavior at St. Louis Zoo, anatomy and physiology at Washington Medical School, astronomy at McDonnell Planetarium, and prehistoric life at the Museum of Science.

Spanish Bilingual Center

Grades: 1-8

School: Mullanphy

Enrollment: 256

The Spanish Bilingual School is an alternative school that provides students with the basic fundamentals of oral Spanish and an understanding of the culture of Spanish-speaking people throughout the world. In addition to the regular curriculum, Spanish is taught through an oral approach based on conversational Spanish. Students receive instruction from a Spanish teacher for 70 minutes per day. A variety of activities are provided, designed to motivate students to become fluent in the Spanish language.

Visual and Performing Arts Center

Grades: 4-8

School: (Shaw Building)

The Visual and Performing Arts Center combines an emphasis on the visual and performing arts with a strong academic program in the basic skills. The school focuses on developing the talents of students in vocal and instrumental music, art, creative writing, speech, drama, literature, and dance. Pupils are encouraged to explore a variety of these media before choosing an area of concentration.

Students have access to local cultural institutions and opportunities to work with artists, playwrights, poets, dancers, and musicians.

Flexible scheduling allows staff to provide academic instruction in reading, writing, and mathematics, according to the student's needs.

Visual and Performing Arts High School

Grades: 9-12

Enrollment: 328

Students with interest and talent in the visual and performing arts have an opportunity to study vocal and instrumental music, drama, dance, art, creative writing, and speech at the Visual and Performing Arts High School. The program can serve as preparation for a career, lead to further study, or broaden cultural interests.

The program gives students a solid basic education in mathematics, English, social studies, and science that will enable them to meet graduation and college entrance requirements while specializing in the arts.

Instruction is planned on an individual basis. Flexible use of time, personal practice sessions, close association with teachers, community institutions, and practitioners of the arts as well as rehearsal and performance opportunities help the student enjoy a rich learning experience. Hard work, self-discipline, and cooperation are required.

All high school students are eligible to apply. Interviews are held with all applicants to determine talent, potential talent, and interest.

Math and Science High School

Grades: 9-12

Enrollment: 300

This program offers a strong emphasis on mathematics and science in addition to the regular courses of study. Students learn to use computers to solve mathematic and science problems and have the opportunity to work with many types of scientific equipment.

Flexible scheduling allows for supervised laboratory experiences and independent study. Students will also work with practicing mathematicians and scientists from local industries and universities.

All high school students are eligible to apply. Students should have a demonstrated interest in mathematics and science or a teacher recommendation.

Business and Office High School

Grades: 9-12

Enrollment: 131

The Business and Office High School offers a unique curriculum of skills related to business careers. Students engage in writing, speaking, and reading activities focusing on business inquiry and problem solving. They may also work directly with businessmen on individual and collective projects and participate in business-related field trips.

The school is equipped with model office facilities. It offers access to local business and industry resources and experience in personnel, apprenticeship, and work-study programs.

Enrollment is limited by design and facilities and students are accepted on a first-come basis.

Evaluation Findings: 1976-77

In the next two sections, I will share some of the major findings of the first year evaluation of the project and some of the perceptions that have been gained through interactions with staff, students, and parents.

The first year evaluation of the magnet school operation confirmed some of the problem areas which I cited earlier. Survey data from staff, parents, and evaluator observations confirmed the difficulties experienced in transportation of students, and obtaining general and specialized materials and supplies needed for programs. The evaluators praised the staff's "ability to persevere in the face of apparently insurmountable obstacles." Other basic findings included the following.

Although positive effects on achievement were reflected in achievement scores in sixth grade reading achievement and for both Academies of Basic Instruction, overall project data indicated no dramatic effect on student achievement during the first year. However, a national study of ESAA projects showed no differences in achievement between ESAA and non-ESAA students for the first 2 years of the projects included in the study.

Social Outcomes

The general trend of the data collected, with respect to social relationships within the magnet schools, was positive. Magnet students' responses were consistently more positive than nonmagnet students in integrated comparison schools on measures of satisfaction and perception of relationships between and among students, teachers, and administrators. While the social climate within the magnet schools was more positive than in comparison schools, the evaluators' analysis of sociometric data revealed that students of both races tended to choose members of their own race as friends about twice as often as they chose members of another race.

The Teacher-Student Relationship Scale (TSRS) was administered to students and teachers at eight magnet schools and four control schools, to ascertain each group's feelings about the school and interpersonal relationships within the school. Magnet students were more positive in these areas than control students; teachers also rated the schools more positively than control schools. There was no indication that teachers' attitudes affected positively or negatively those of their students.

Staff Survey

Results of the staff survey indicated satisfaction with the project's progress. Staff perceived themselves as successful despite problems mentioned earlier. They felt that their students were less disruptive and destructive when compared to ones in the past and were more enthusiastic. They reported that support for the project and program was quite high and that parent participation in after school activity was somewhat greater than in the past. The Visual and Performing Arts Center and High School, and the IGE School were consistently perceived as somewhat more successful than other schools.

Organizational Climate

The Organizational Climate Description Questionnaire (OCDQ), a survey instrument, was administered to elementary level teachers at the seven magnet grade schools, three pilot grade schools, and three control schools. This questionnaire was an attempt to ascertain the degree of positiveness in organizational climate in magnet schools versus integrated nonmagnet schools, and to provide feedback to school administrators regarding staff perceptions of administrative behavior. An index of "openness" would also be derived by modified analytical procedures. The findings indicated magnet schools were positive in every category measured on the 80-item questionnaire. Though below the national averages, magnet schools were more "open" than nonmagnet schools.

Parent Survey

A group of 424 parents responded to a survey designed by the evaluation team. Eighty-five percent of the parents responding to questions regarding quality education and program satisfaction, factors affecting racial relations, and problems in basic instructional implementation, submitted the following:

1. The program was perceived as moderately to very successful in terms of curriculum uniqueness and in achieving quality education.
2. The schools were viewed as being quite different.
3. The program was viewed as moderate to very successful in bringing about positive racial relations.

Parents who had students in a public or private school responded to an instrument designed to ascertain parent involvement in schools, education level completed by parents, if parents favor the magnet concept, and if magnet schools were substantially increased would parents have their children apply. Results showed parental support of the magnet school concept. Of the 278 parents who responded, 75% of parents who did not have children in the magnet schools favored the concept. Sixty-two percent of the parents reported they would send their children to magnet schools if they were substantially increased in number.

Perceptions, Reactions, and Realities

The first year evaluation has pointed out some of the strengths and weaknesses of our initial efforts in trying to respond to the needs of some of the young people in St. Louis, as well as to our community at large.

We have experienced considerable excitement and optimism, while at the same time confronting some frustration and disappointment. The personal perceptions and reactions I have received from students, parents, teachers, and principals have, however, been most encouraging. Last year I asked for written statements from the aforementioned groups and have repeated the same procedure this year, but numerous letters have been continually received without seeking them. I have also visited all the magnet schools each year and have talked with numerous students, a significant number of parents, many teachers, and all of the principals. There have been some criticisms, mostly constructive, and presented in the hopes of suggesting some needed changes. But without question, the responses have been unusually positive. I believe that it is still too early to make broad generalizations about the magnet schools; all I can do is share a few quotes from St. Louisans and let you make your own judgments:

> Although the magnet program is only in its second year of operation, there are measurable indicators that this innovation of alternative educational programs is doing what it purports to do. Four of the most important indicators of success are: student attendance, student achievement, reduction of racial isolation, and constructive parental involvement.
>
> Personally, my own feelings toward the school concept and in particular, the Visual and Performing Arts High School, are stronger than ever. It's a

> fresh, unique, appealing approach and, if one is allowed to say so, it's fun.
>
> Magnets and other alternatives in our opinion are the key to survival of large urban public school districts.
>
> "They" said it couldn't be done, but we've done it! Students and parents are continuing to support the concepts of the Academy of Basic Instruction at Waring School with ever increasing enthusiasm. We are meeting our instructional objectives for the year while providing for enriching experiences outside of the school building.

Hopefully, these comments will convey the enthusiasm and excitement that is being generated. We have not solved all of our problems, but magnet schools are one means toward a most desirable end--improved educational learning opportunities for young people and a healthier urban hope.

ED185230

A DENVER STORY

James H. Daniels

"The Denver Public Schools have been highly successful in maintaining instructional credibility. We continue to provide a strong basic skills program for all youngsters. At the same time, effective educational alternatives to improving basic skill instruction are being explored. The process has paid off, an enviable educational track record being the result."

UD 020 536

In this section, James H. Daniels, Administrative Director for Elementary Education, Denver Public Schools, describes some of the programs that are being used in Denver to improve basic skills instruction. Mr. Daniels opens his paper by listing some of the changes necessitated by the U.S. Court Order to desegregate schools in April 1974. He suggests that there has not been a great deal of community pressure for basic education in Denver partly because the Denver Public Schools have had minimum competency testing for 18 years. The system has obtained good results, as measured by the percent of graduates going on to college, the results on scholastic aptitude tests, and reading scores. Mr. Daniels then describes some of the instructional approaches that are being used in Denver: Individually Guided Education; Mastery Learning; the Diagnostic Teaching Center Project to improve both academic and personal performance of Title I students in the elementary grades; the Reading Maintenance and Improvement Project for Catholic parochial students who need intensive instruction in reading; tutority for Catholic parochial students who need help in mathematics; and a variety of alternative programs at the secondary level.

As a part of this year's Annual Conference for Urban Educators I have been asked to explore some effective educational alternatives to improving basic skill instruction that are being implemented in the Denver Public Schools.

Before I begin, perhaps a brief overview of the organizational structure of the Denver Public Schools and a review of the massive changes that have taken place during the past few years will be helpful.

We are one of the larger school districts in the Rocky Mountain area. Our boundaries, encompassing about 100 square miles, contain 93 elementary schools, 18 junior high schools, and 9 senior high schools, with approximately 7,000 employees. At one time these schools served over 96,000 students. Today our enrollment is slightly less than 70,000. While school districts across the nation were experiencing declining populations, in approximately nine years Denver lost over 26,000 students.

Some have attributed these declines and changes to the attraction of private schools, the appeal of the suburbs, normal family mobility, and planned parenthood programs. In Denver, however, the decline really began to accelerate in 1969, as segregation and desegregation court suits were filed. Denver was required by U.S. Court Order to desegregate its schools in April 1974.

Walter Oliver, Assistant Superintendent, Department of Elementary Education, headed a task force which was responsible for planning the massive changes necessary to implement the court order. These plans included:

1. the long and short busing of 5,500 minority students to predominantly Anglo schools.
2. the rezoning of junior and senior high schools to reach the ethnic percentages required by the court order.
3. the reassignment of staff so that the ratio of minority to Anglo teachers and other staff in each school would not be less than 50% of the ratio of such teachers and other staff, respectively, in the entire school system. This included over 700 certificated employees and some 40 to 50 administrators.

In addition:

1. transportation schedules, pick-up points, and the like, were revised, affecting some 20,000 children.
2. mandatory human relations inservices were initiated for all employees.

3. instructional programs were coordinated.

4. breakfast programs and bilingual/bicultural programs were implemented.

These massive changes obviously had a tremendous impact on the entire Denver community, but especially on parents, pupils, teachers, and administrators. Programs would, of necessity, change, as would approaches to instruction, expectations for students, attitudes, and how students saw themselves.

What I have just described gives you some idea of a few of the logistical difficulties we faced in our desegregation efforts. However, we still had some hard questions to answer, some attitudes to change, and some instructional decisions to make. System-wide workshops and well-planned staff development efforts are not in and of themselves panaceas. Individual schools, principals, teachers, and students in cooperation with parents would make the difference, if indeed a difference could be made.

Teachers asked of themselves and others, "Will I have to change my teaching style to accommodate the needs of a different kind of student?" "Will the range of experiences and the quality of the backgrounds be so different and far ranging that I won't be able to form teachable groups?" "Will I have to resegregate?" Fortunately most of these questions were answered once the pupils began to feel comfortable with each other, began to get a feel for the new situation and, of course, were able to model the precepts and examples established by the teacher.

One school held staff meetings to explore some possibilities, both instructional and attitudinal. They were concerned with the quality of questions they would ask the children in small group activities and with the kind of expectations they had for the performance of the children. They came to the conclusion that when we treat an individual as he is, he remains that way. When we treat him in terms of what he can be and ought to be, he will be what he can and ought to be.

Many parents were concerned with the kinds of alternatives the schools would provide to basic skill instruction. A high percentage of these questioners were knowledgeable about the schooling process, offered many suggestions for improvement, and interfered when they didn't see immediate progress. There were requests for talented and gifted programs, in-school enrichment and after-school enrichment. On the other side of the coin there were parents who have established high quality education K-12 as a very low priority. They were the ones who have become immune to our innovations, our crash programs and, most of all, to our rhetoric. They said, forget about the frills--instill the basics.

While the teaching of the basics, however we define that ambiguous term, is an important consideration for most school districts, there must be some alternatives.

Perhaps, as a matter of review, it would be wise to take another look at some of the reasons why school districts in major urban areas have sought alternative ways to improve basic skill instruction.

Several years ago a number of educational journals published articles on declining test scores. While many of the articles generated a movement we now call "back-to-the-basics," the one that received an overwhelming share of public attention appeared in a December 1975 issue of Newsweek magazine. The article dealt with Johnny's inability to write. It raised issues that center around the growing inability of our students to read and write the English language, and all signs seem to indicate that today's students are more poorly equipped in basic skills than those in years past.

We all become alarmed when we read about the steady drop in the average national score on the verbal section of the Scholastic Aptitude Test, the poor showing of some of our 9-, 13-, and 17-year olds on the National Assessment of Educational Progress, and the drop in scores on the American College Test. In addition, we have become greatly concerned because many of our high school students fail college placement exams and, as a result, have to be placed in remedial courses. This has occurred in spite of the great infusion of money during the past decade, and innovations such as open classroom programs, flexible modular scheduling, and a mind-boggling variety of electronic gadgetry.

While no one seems to be able to define back-to-basics adequately, everyone seems to be in on the act--from teachers, to media, to parents. Similarly, a direction is difficult to establish--whether our approach to the basics will be forward or back.

Some conservative forces have demanded a return to a curriculum focusing on the three R's, and their current call is for "minimal competency" testing. A number of these back-to-basics advocates would have most of the elementary school day devoted to the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic. In the secondary schools they would have most of the day devoted to English, science, math, and history.

There has not been a great deal of community pressure for the basics in the Denver Public Schools. As a result, there has not been a narrowing of curriculum offerings. Students may still sign up for film-making, sex education, and a variety of courses in the arts, to name a few.

The lack of community pressure may be due in part to Denver's 18-year emphasis on minimal competency testing. Each high school graduate is required to pass tests in language, arithmetic, reading, and spelling. For many years Denver was the only major school district with such a requirement. That move, by the Superintendent and the Board of Education, gained statewide support and brought the Denver School District national recognition.

An expansion of this proficiency and review program is now underway. A series of "check point" tests is being developed for use in the third and sixth grades. The purpose of this testing is to identify young people, early in their academic careers, who are not progressing as satisfactorily as their classmates. This instrument will be similar to the secondary P & R tests emphasizing arithmetic, language usage, reading, and spelling. Test items will cover curriculum objectives for grades one through three, and four through six. The tests will be used to determine the extent to which pupils are meeting third- and sixth-grade instructional objectives.

Those youngsters experiencing difficulty with the test items will be provided with special assistance in grades four and seven.

The Denver Public Schools have been highly successful in maintaining instructional credibility. We continue to provide a strong basic skills program for all youngsters. At the same time, effective educational alternatives to improving basic skill instruction are being explored. The process has paid off, an enviable educational track record being the result.

Since 1970, well over 50% of the graduates from Denver high schools have gone on to college. In the area of scholarships, Denver receives a larger percentage than any other district in the Rocky Mountain area.

Test results indicate that the basic education program offered in the schools remains strong. Since 1971, Denver has been over 25 points above the national average on college scholastic aptitude tests; 30 points or higher in English scores on college tests.

There has been an upward trend in kindergarten scores in prereading skills. In 1972 the average was 38.5; in 1977, 46.3. In first grade the average has risen by 5 months in vocabulary since 1972. In comprehension, during the same period of time the growth has been 4 months. In second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth grades, reading scores have shown similar gains. Denver's reading program, as a result of reading package use, is strong, with continued progress being made. In addition, progress is being made in language skills and mathematics.

Support and encouragement for the advancement of academic achievement is a high priority of the Board of Education and the Superintendent. Just recently an additional $3.50 for each child in the District was added to the budget by the Board for the purchase of library books.

While we point with a little pride at some of our test results, we are aware that all schools can be made better and that school districts can improve the effectiveness of their educational programs. Some strategies are necessary for all school improvement efforts.

One school improvement effort or educational alternative to basic skill instruction currently being implemented in four elementary schools in the Denver Public Schools is Individually Guided Education (IGE), a brainchild of the Research and Development Center at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. It is an instructional systems approach designed to improve student performances by strengthening classroom instructional management. There is an emphasis on the use of instructional objectives, performance measures, and materials keyed to objectives. Consultant aid and assistance are provided by the University of Wisconsin and the Colorado Department of Education.

Another instructional systems approach currently being implemented is Mastery Learning. Made popular by James Block and Benjamin Bloom and several disciples, the concept of mastery focuses on strengthening classroom instructional management. In Denver the principal receives instruction in the techniques, then instructs his teachers, who in turn teach the children. The materials contain a guide, which is a thorough script to the instruction of the skills being taught, activity sheets for practicing the skills, formative test to measure progress, remediation for additional instruction and practice, and additional activities for motivation and extended reading experiences.

Many other programs in the Denver Public Schools manifest increasing awareness that all children do not learn in the same way, nor at the same rate, and learning can take place in a variety of situations. The _Diagnostic Teaching Center Project_ was developed and introduced to the Denver Public Schools in the early 60's, in order to improve the academic and personal performance of Title I eligible pupils in grades K-6. These children evidenced a variety of learning difficulties and had failed to progress sufficiently in existing school programs. Included in the project is help for non-English-speaking pupils within two centers and in school diagnostic rooms.

Pupils who attend 57 Title I target area schools are eligible for diagnosis. Some 31 teachers and 14 teacher aides are assigned to work within 4 centers.

The East and West Centers and two minicenters provide a staff of specialists and teachers who determine the nature of the deficiency of each pupil referred, and prescribe a program of modified teaching methods, materials, and curriculum. Diagnostic teachers assigned to rooms located in the 57 participating schools extend the services of the area centers. When the diagnosis at either the eligible schools or the centers reveals that emotional problems are the underlying causes of the learning difficulty, or when treatment for emotional problems must precede further educational diagnosis and prescriptive teaching, the pupil is referred to agencies qualified to treat such problems.

The Reading Maintenance and Improvement Project is provided to the Catholic parochial schools for pupils in grades 1-12, who are below grade level in reading achievement. A special teacher is provided to give these pupils intensive instruction in reading and language development with special emphasis on reteaching of phonics, listening and word analysis skills, vocabulary building, and comprehension.

Pupils are assigned to this teacher for reading instruction. Sessions are held daily with 20 pupils. The remainder of the teacher's time is spent with regular classroom teachers, conferences with parents, or individual help for pupils with special problems. During the year approximately 310 children are enrolled in this program with a teaching staff of 13 half-time teachers, utilizing 10 teacher aides. A reading specialist is assigned to coordinate the private school projects.

Approximately 200 pupils attending Catholic parochial schools in grades 1-12 who need help in mathematics are tutored by approximately 23 teacher aides during school hours. Tutoring is provided on an individual basis or in groups not to exceed five pupils. The teacher aides are recruited from each school community and are selected for their ability to improve pupil achievement in this basic subject.

At the secondary level, several types of alternative programs are offered. In some, a special program operates within the framework of the regular schedule. This school-within-a-school concept allows 72 pupils in 1 junior high school, for example, to get English credit for a year by approaching music, art, and English from both an appreciation and an experiential standpoint. A senior high school has developed a senior seminar for which a special group of seniors are chosen by lottery from volunteers of both the dropout-prone and the high achievers. They begin their school year with a 3-week excursion to field destinations such as an Indian reservation. That experience is the beginning of a semester-long series of experiences designed to prove that learning is not restricted to the classroom.

In another junior high school, the Extracurricular Education Program is offered. Volunteer students may spend several days a week earning credit by working in the offices of some elected public officials, the Museum of Natural History, the Molly Brown House, and Colorado General Hospital. The remainder of the week is devoted to regular classes. Some secondary schools offer Exploratory Program in Careers (EPIC) on a comparable schedule.

A senior high school has an alternative program for the poorly motivated student. Thirty students work with three teachers who make daily home visits in addition to spending extra time with the students on weekends and evenings. The students can earn credit in English, history, and math with these teachers.

Denver's offering in the satellite school area is the Metro Youth Education Center (MYEC). This school is for potential dropouts or those between the ages of 16 and 26 who have already left school and realize they need more skills to be self-supporting.

Another innovative Denver Public Schools program is the Creative Urban Living Environment (CULE). Open to students in grades 10 to 12, the program offers basic skills instruction in the areas of carpentry, concrete construction, and masonry. Students may rehabilitate houses, set up their own business, and sell the houses they have rehabilitated.

These are just a few of the ways we, in the Denver Public Schools, have tried to provide alternatives to basic skill instruction. They are not new and are probably being tried in a number of school districts around the country. The goal for all of us is to improve the effectiveness of the urban schools. So we do what is necessary, at considerable expense and in a variety of ways, to see to it that all children acquire the skills that will help them participate fully in American society.

ED185231

AN OAKLAND STORY

Rosemma B. Wallace

"... only through the strength of coordinated effort can there be positive impact on student achievement. We believe students can learn; we believe teachers can teach. Our job is to direct our work and our talent in one forceful stream to support the learning activities in the classroom."

UD020537

In this final paper Rosemma B. Wallace describes the reorganization undertaken by the Oakland Unified School District in its effort to improve student achievement in the Oakland schools. Ms. Wallace, Executive Associate Superintendent for Learning in the Oakland district, outlines Oakland's Instructional Strategy Plan. Begun in January of 1976 and financed in part with foundation monies, the plan provides for an Instructional Strategy Council, Technical Task Teams, Instructional Support Teams, and a Division of Learning. Ms. Wallace also explains the effects that the teachers' strike of 1977 and Assembly Bill 65 (AS65), a school reform bill which became law in September of 1977, have had on the plan.

Oakland, California is located in the northern part of the state on the mainland side of San Francisco Bay. This city of 361,561 inhabitants is surrounded by smaller cities of varying types and sizes. All differ markedly from Oakland. Some are marked by the affluence of their citizens; some are rich with the tax base provided by numerous industries; some are typical middle-class suburban communities with very little cultural diversity. Oakland's population is a rich tapestry of races, cultures, and socioeconomic levels. The business community is interested in and involved with the public schools. Several large national and international businesses have their headquarters in Oakland. The Port of Oakland is among the world's leaders in the handling of container cargo. The airport is increasing business at a rapid pace, and has long been involved with charter and air cargo activities. There are Army and Navy Supply Depots and a naval hospital located in Oakland.

Major problems are unemployment (especially among minorities) and urban blight. Both problems affect the schools. Teenagers find it hard to get jobs before and after graduation. Many parents are out of work.

Redevelopment has caused population shifts within the city that have affected schools. Despite redevelopment, urban blight is widespread in some parts of the city. Schools in these neighborhoods are affected by the negative aura of the surrounding community. Citizens leaving the city because of unemployment affect enrollments. (A steadily decreasing birthrate also caused lowered enrollments for a time, but this seems to have stabilized.) Many parents are unhappy with constantly declining test scores, and either move or send their children to private schools. It is hoped that the current emphasis on achievement will result in repetition of the 1976-77 rise in achievement. Though not spectacularly large, any upward movement of achievement was most welcome after years of steady decline.

A new mayor is working on the problems of unemployment and urban blight. The schools are an integral part of the plan to improve Oakland. A spirit of cooperation marks the relationship between city government and the school system.

The Oakland Unified School District consists of 95 public schools, kindergarten to grade 12. The District also operates adult schools, children's centers, preschools, and schools for exceptional children. There are a number of educational programs in which the District cooperates with community agencies, institutions of higher learning, private schools, business and industry, and governmental agencies. The District has a Superintendent appointed by an elected Board of Education consisting of seven members. There is one Deputy Superintendent, an Executive Associate Superintendent, two Area Superintendents, an Associate Superintendent for

Support Services, and a Business Manager.

Oakland's schools have an enrollment of 51,761 pupils (1977-78), excluding preschool and adult education. There are 3,017 teachers and 145 site-level administrators. The students are 67.4% Black, 16.4% White, 7.9% Spanish-surnamed, 6.2% Asian, 1.3% Filipino, and .8% Native American.

Six comprehensive high schools serve high school age youth. There are also two continuation schools and two alternative high schools. (Additionally, one alternative art school has a K-12 program.) Junior high schools number 12. Three middle schools and one small alternative program for seventh and eighth graders teach the fourth through eighth grades in varying grade combinations. Elementary schools are generally K-6. Exceptions are three schools with a K-3 configuration, and one each that are K-5 and 4-6. There is 1 year-round K-6 school. The Art School (an alternative) serves K-12 students.

Four schools educate children with severe physical, mental, or emotional handicaps. There is a program for the Education of the Deaf at one school. Gifted programs are conducted at most school sites. Some cluster students in classes throughout the school; others operate Gifted Centers or Gifted Classes. Adult Education offers classes all over the city at numerous sites both daytime and evening.

Oakland Public Schools were funded for 1976-77 by a budget of $186,578,926.00. Of this amount, 63.1% was from local revenue, 34.7% from state revenue, 10.8% from federal revenue, and 2.6% from beginning balances.

The public schools of Oakland, California reflect the colorful history of the city. Though considered by some to be a "country cousin" of San Francisco across the bay, Oakland has always had its own unique, and no less multifaceted community. Through the years, the public schools have educated a diverse ethnic and socioeconomic population. Curriculum has reflected community needs and values through kaleidoscopic changes, some of which have developed with lightning-like rapidity. Emphasis on curriculum development, educational innovations, and monitored implementation, was the hallmark of Oakland's educational plan in the years before the "frantic 50's" and the "seething 60's". As was the fate of many urban centers, Oakland (next door to Berkeley) began to feel the effects of more children, less money, and community unrest.

Beginning in the late 50's, there was a gradual lessening of unified emphasis on the planning, monitoring, and evaluation of basic skills instruction. Severe economic restraints, national and local turmoil, and state and federal legislation combined to impact negatively on the major responsibility of the district--to produce graduates possessing high levels of skill and understanding. The result was a diffusion of the forces needed to maintain a systematic, effective, well-defined curriculum.

In 1970, a new administration brought new ideas and new hope. Dr. Marcus Foster became Superintendent of the Oakland Unified School District. A great believer in the learning ability of urban students, Dr. Foster set about making the kind of changes he believed would lead to better student achievement. Decentralization was begun, but instructional support planning and implementation were not completed before tragedy struck. The senseless murder of Dr. Foster dealt a crushing blow to the tender young sprouts of educational reform just then developing in the schools.

Numerous matters other than curriculum had to be addressed immediately. The district was in the beginning stages of a massive earthquake-safe building program affecting 28 schools. Many were to be completely rebuilt; others required extensive remodeling. Budget problems increased. Community unrest was still rampant. Communication had to be maintained. Test scores were falling. Teachers' anxieties about their rights and responsibilities were escalating. Legislation, with accompanying red tape, poured unabated from Washington and Sacramento.

The District was hit by tragedy once again when one of the Regional Superintendents, a dynamic 46 year-old man, died suddenly in July of 1975. Several acting Superintendents handled emergencies and regular school business as best they could while the Board of Education searched for a new Superintendent. Clearly, a special person was needed to meet Oakland's very special needs.

On November 4, 1975, Dr. Ruth B. Love was appointed Superintendent of Oakland's Public Schools. A dynamic young woman, Dr. Love had begun her teaching career in Oakland. Before leaving that job for numerous greater responsibilities, she established a reputation as one of the finest teachers in Oakland's history. The years away in positions of high office in the educational divisions of state and federal government had not dimmed Dr. Love's fundamental commitment to children. As an international expert on reading, she was endowed with practical knowledge about how to teach basic skills. On the day of her appointment, Dr. Love addressed the Board of Education in their public meeting. She stressed several points, all in support of the major thesis described in this quote:

> The task, then, becomes one of keeping all the issues, demands, programs, and goals in perspective, and not confusing means and ends. The end, for us, must be the empowerment of children--giving them the skills and experiences necessary to lead self-directed, productive and fulfilling lives.

It was during that first speech that Dr. Love described "an over-all instructional strategy." Unification of the instructional program had begun.

Soon after Dr. Love assumed the duties of Superintendent, she invited an external team of nationally known educational experts to visit Oakland. The purpose of the visit was to have this "blue ribbon" group assist her in assessing the needs of the District. They were also to recommend strategies. The visit was funded by foundation monies secured by Dr. Love. Reorganization designed to support the Instructional Strategy Plan was a major recommendation of the external study team.

Oakland's Instructional Strategy Plan was formally launched on January 27, 1976. Much work took place before the public announcement. An Instructional Strategy Council was formed, at first co-chaired by a central office administrator and a classroom teacher. (Both were assigned full time for 1 semester.) The Instructional Strategy Council elected officers who were community people soon after the Council was formed. The District co-chairpersons served as liaisons between ISC and the Technical Task Teams. The Instructional Strategy Council consisted of persons representing business, labor, community organizations, and school employee organizations who were selected to participate by their group, employer, or organization. Central and site administrators were selected by the Superintendent to serve on the council.

Technical Task Teams began to function on March 9, 1976. Schools were asked to submit the names of staff who were especially competent in the teaching of specific subjects and basic skills. Over 700 names were submitted and 20 to 40 persons were chosen to staff each of the 9 teams. The 9 teams consisted of the following:

Elementary	Secondary
Reading/Language	English/Reading
Mathematics	Mathematics
Time Allotment	Time Allotment
Management/Motivation	Management/Motivation
	Graduation Requirements

Other Task Teams proposed, and to be phased in later, were:

Elementary	Secondary
Science	Science
Social Science	Social Science
Music/Art	Foreign Language
Physical Education	Fine Arts
Consumer Education	Physical Education (PE)/ROTC
Health Education	Industrial Arts
Bilingual/Bicultural Education	Business Education
	Homemaking

Special Education	Consumer Education
Career Education	Special Education
Exceptional Children	Career Education
Multiethnic Education	Health Education
	Multiethnic Education

Nine teams met weekly, from 8:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m., from March 9, 1976 to May 27, 1976. Superintendent Love secured foundation money to cover the cost of substitutes. These substitutes taught specific teachers' classes once a week while the teacher worked on the Technical Task Team. The charge to the teams was:

1. Identify and describe grade level Learning Expectations and performance indicators.

2. Develop curriculum and teaching strategies for skills identified and described.

3. Develop sequential courses of study.

4. Develop textbook matrices and supplementary material lists.

5. Develop new and improved profile cards in language/reading and mathematics K-12.

6. Develop articulation for matters that cut across grade level and subject-matter lines (such as time-allotment and multicultural education).

Drafts of the first nine Task Team reports were finished, printed, and distributed for field testing during the 1976-77 school year. Reading/language and mathematics (elementary and secondary) were revised to include teacher recommendations. Revised guides were issued to schools before the beginning of the fall 1977 term. Other Technical Task Teams were phased in during 1976-77 and 1977-78. First drafts completed as of April 1978 were:

Elementary	Secondary
Reading/Language (revised)	Language/English (revised)
Mathematics (revised)	Mathematics (revised)
Social Science	Social Science
Science	Science
Exceptional Children	Exceptional Children
Health Education	Foreign Language (Spanish only)
Consumer Education	Health Education
Career Education	Consumer Education
Multicultural Education	Career Education
Time Allotment	Multicultural Education
Motivation and Management	Graduation Requirements
	Motivation and Management

All Technical Task Team reports are reviewed by the Superintendent (who recommends them to the Board) and the Instructional Strategy Council.

Reorganization, Phase I, began during the summer of 1976. There were three major parts of Phase I reorganization: regional, central, and school site. The purpose of reorganization was to make more efficient delivery of services to the schools. The goal was to improve the achievement levels of students.

The three Regions became two Areas. Instructional Support Teams of master teachers were assigned to the Areas. An administrator was team leader. Each area had 10 teachers: 4 for reading/language/english, 4 for mathematics, and 1 each for science and social science.

Regions (3)	Areas (2)
Associate Superintendent	Associate Superintendent
Consultant (Psychologist)	Consultant (Psychologist)
Consultant (Reading)	Instructional Team Leader
	Planner
	School Director
	Consultant (Psychologist)
	Assistant, Counseling/Financial Aid
	Teachers on Special Assignment (10) (Instructional Support Team)
	Teacher on Special Assignment (1) (Nursing Services)
	Teacher on Special Assignment (1) (Community Relations)

The Instructional Support Team spent 80% of its time at school sites, much of it in the classroom giving demonstration lessons.

At the central offices, reorganization resulted in the development of an Office of Curriculum and Instruction. Housed centrally, this unit was designed to provide district-wide instructional support services including completion of Technical Task Team reports, maintenance of Instructional Strategy Council liaison activities, district-wide staff development, and the revision of textbook selection practices. The major difference between Curriculum and Instruction and Area staff development was that Curriculum and Instruction did more job-alike, district-wide kinds of inservice, while Area instructional staff concentrated on site and classroom inservice. The director, who reported to the two Area Superintendents, was assisted by a coordinator, a staff development specialist, a resource development specialist, and a group of subject-matter specialists and consultants. (Some specialists and consultants were already housed centrally. Those that were added through reorganization are marked by asterisks on the list below.)

*Reading/Language/English
*Mathematics
*Science
Music (Instrumental)
*Music (choral)
*Career Education
Industrial Arts
Consultant for Media
*Social Science
Art
*Foreign Language
Consumer Education/Homemaking
Driver Education
Multicultural Education
ROTC

Under Phase I of reorganization, Bilingual Education was also in the Curriculum and Instruction unit, although housed in a building some distance away.

Another part of Phase I reorganization that affected instruction was the removal of State and Federal Programs from the division where they were previously into a separate and distinct management unit under a Director of State and Federal Programs.

At the same time regional and central reorganization was taking place, instructional support at school sites was provided. The title of

Vice-Principal was abolished. The title of Assistant Principal was created. All secondary schools were assigned one Assistant Principal for instruction and one Assistant Principal for Administration. A formula was developed to determine whether schools received other assistance such as Deans or activities assistants, dependent on enrollment. A similar formula determined whether elementary schools received Assistant Principals or Curriculum Assistants or both. Before Phase I of reorganization, vice-principals had not been given formal, district-wide instructional support responsibilities, although many of them actually worked with teachers on the improvement of instruction.

The first major staff development effort of the newly organized (and still unstaffed) Curriculum and Instruction unit was a Summer Institute held during the summer of 1976. Foundation money had been secured by the Superintendent to implement the Instructional Strategy Plan. Forty-one schools were selected to pilot the strategy. The Summer Institute allowed principals and staff representatives from these schools to plan implementation of the newly developed Learning Expectations. The nine Technical Task Teams had finished their reports.

Each of the 41 schools had formed a Site Instructional Strategy Council (SISC). The Summer Institute provided instructions for school planning that were uniform in format for all schools. District objectives for the 1976-77 school year had been developed. Schools at the Institute established site objectives compatible with District objectives, identified support needs, and scheduled site level staff development. Each school represented completed a School Plan for the upcoming 1976-77 school year.

Just before the beginning of the fall term 1976-77, an Academy involving principals and staff representatives from all schools was held. The purpose was staff development for implementation of the Technical Task Team reports. Funding was with Foundation monies.

Beginning with the fall term, 1976-77, all managers (site, area, and central) received management-by-objective training. (The Superintendent obtained free services from business and industry to assist District staff with this series of inservice sessions.) The purpose was to improve the management of all units for more effective delivery of services in support of the instructional program.

The monitoring and evaluation that are a part of management-by-objectives revealed some problems by the spring of 1977. Planning for Phase II of reorganization began.

The Curriculum and Instruction unit had been placed under the supervision of the Areas on the organizational chart for Phase I reorganization. The purpose was to keep instructional support close to school operation, psychologically and practically. The intent was to prevent the isolation that sometimes occurs when "downtown experts" are viewed as being superior beings unrelated to classroom activities. The addition of Instructional Support Teams in the Areas through Phase I reorganization gave welcome support to sites. The problem was that the District's instructional support was fragmented - Area A, Area B, Curriculum and Instruction, State and Federal. The decision was made to try once again to unify instructional support.

During the summer of 1977, the Division of Learning was created and

Curriculum and Instruction was phased out. Led by an Executive Associate Superintendent for Learning, the new division included the Areas and the Office of State and Federal Programs. Instructional support staff were brought together with the consultants and specialists and housed in the same building. The lists below reflect the changes that resulted from Phase II of reorganization.

Curriculum and Instruction

Director
Coordinator
Assistant, Staff Development
Specialist, Resource Development
Consultant, Media
Consultants and Specialists Subject-matter areas
Director, Bilingual Education

Division of Learning

Executive Associate Supt. for Learning
Area Superintendents
Director, State and Federal Programs
(including Preschool and Bilingual
education)
Planner
Assistant Planner
Consultant, Field Services
Consultant, Developmental Services
Consultants and Specialists - Subject-Matter
Specialist, Learning Resources (Media)
Teachers on Special Assignment - Subject-Matter areas
Teacher on Special Assignment - Library
Teacher on Special Assignment - Instructional Material Delivery

Under the Curriculum and Instruction configuration, the Coordinator's responsibilities were limited to curriculum development and staff development. Under the Division of Learning system, the position of Planner is responsible for research and evaluation, educational planning, staffing, housing, budget, and other duties as delegated. The Assistant Planner has broader responsibilities than the Staff Development Assistant. Subgroups within the Division of Learning are organized for better communication. Unit managers were designated for staffs in vocational education, fine arts, and PE/ROTC/Driver Education.

The former Director of Curriculum and Instruction assumed the position of Director of Administrative Development, a position reporting directly to the Superintendent.

The Division of Learning began its functions July 1, 1977. An Academy was held in late August for all schools. Foundation money had been secured to buy released time during the 1977-78 school year for site level School Instructional Strategy Council staff development and District level Learning Expectation implementation strategies for teachers. At the Academy, the procedure used for 41 schools the previous year was repeated with all schools. Revisions had been made in both the plan book and inservice based on evaluations by participants. Newly revised learning expectations in Language/Reading/English and Mathematics were distributed to participants (principals and members of their Site Instructional Strategy Councils.) Division of Learning staff were present and their staff development services were scheduled into school plans.

A 1-year position was budgeted to improve the ordering, purchase, and delivery of instructional materials. Technical Task Teams had developed textbook matrices. An inventory of textbooks was sorely needed. Ordering and delivery systems required revision. New legislation (Assembly Bill 65) gave the District a one-time-only sum of money. The Board of Education voted to use some of it for badly needed textbooks. The Instructional Materials person was able to improve the ordering and purchasing of these books. Delivery of all instructional materials was much improved. The position is in the Learning Resources Unit. Also in the Learning Resources Unit is a television production crew which operates a cable T.V. station. (Seventy-five percent of the schools are wired to receive cable T.V.) Staff development tapes have been produced and are capable of being viewed by staffs at their sites.

A Festival of Learning was planned for October 5, 1977. The Superintendent announced the date and the purpose on the last day of the Academy. A Learning Contract had been developed by the Superintendent Love during the summer. Assisting her were the Executive Associate Superintendent for Learning and a group of teachers, site and central administrators, parents, and students. The contract was designed to be symbolic of the partnership necessary for student achievement. A nonlegal document, it contained responsibilities for the student, the parent, and the teacher for student achievement.

The Learning Festival was to feature an Open House at all schools on the evening of October 5th. Parents were invited to visit schools to see the School Plan Book, each teacher's plan book, and to receive copies of the key Learning Expectations in Language and Mathematics for their child's grade level, and they could also sign the Learning Contract if they wished.

During the summer and early fall, teacher organizations began to move toward strike action. The state's new collective bargaining law had resulted in the choice of a bargaining unit through teacher elections. A contract had not been negotiated by the time school opened. Many teachers boycotted the Learning Festival. Teachers went on strike early in November.

In October, a Learning Expectations Assessment Program (LEAP) was begun. An evaluative instrument to measure student competency in key Learning Expectations (Language and Mathematics) was developed. Division of Learning staff were trained by the District's Research Department. Each school received inservice for the administration of the tests from DOL staff at their own sites. The tests were given to pupils in grades 2, 5, and 7 in October.

Division of Learning staff prepared sample objectives and sample lesson plans at most grade levels and most disciplines. These were distributed to schools.

As strike action appeared more and more certain, Division of Learning staff developed a standard lesson plan format and a system of coding and cataloging curriculum materials developed by the Division. Staff produced grade level materials sufficient to provide lessons for 1 week for substitutes. When the strike began early in November, administrative staff continued to produce materials and deliver them to schools throughout the 12 days of the strike. (Most central office administrators were assigned to schools. Only the Executive Associate Superintendent and the

Planner were at DOL throughout the strike. Subject matter specialists and consultants were brought back for a day occasionally to write plans for a reported need.)

No staff development was held in December. In January, the Learning Expectation implementation inservice was resumed. Emphasis was on effective strategies to teach those basic skills identified as weak in the October LEAP tests. Many presenters were classroom teachers who had developed and used strategies they found successful. The Developmental Services Unit planned and produced the inservice sessions. Foundation monies paid for substitutes.

Several pieces of legislation have affected the schools of California during the school year 1977-78. The most impact has been caused by Assembly Bill 65 (AB65), a school reform bill. This bill became law September 17, 1977. Built in are the due dates districts must be able to meet, some of them as early as June 1978. (Applications for the first planning grants were due even earlier, on November 25, 1977. There were so few grants available, however, that the impact of the November date was not great.) Assembly Bill 65 has many requirements that affect Oakland's Instructional Strategy Plan. Among them are the development of proficiency standards and the design of a proficiency examination for high school graduates, staff development for teachers and administrators, and the design of site level school improvement plans. The bill stipulates the responsibilities of districts to involve parents, community persons chosen by parents, teachers, noncertificated site staff, and secondary students in developing and evaluating school improvement plans.

The Division of Learning organized task forces through the Instructional Strategy Council to meet the requirements of Assembly Bill 65 as well as to meet other District objectives. These are not subject matter Technical Task Teams, but are charged to develop recommendations to the Superintendent and the Board for certain specific needs. An example of a task team working on a District objective is the team developing a master plan for Vocational Education. An example of a team working on Assembly Bill 65 recommendations is the one working on Proficiency Standards. Teams include parents, community representatives, teachers, nonteaching staff, students, and administrators.

Task Teams meet every Tuesday evening except the last Tuesday in the month, when the Instructional Strategy Council meets to hear progress reports from these task Teams. At that time, the ISC also reviews Technical Task Team Reports.

The aforementioned procedure is not prescribed by Assembly Bill 65. It is the District's way of meeting the law's requirement that information be widely disseminated and that involvement of groups of persons named be assured.

Objectives for 1978-79 are being developed. Emphasis will be on implementation of Learning Expectations in all disciplines. The major thrust will be an interdisciplinary approach to basic skills. Teaching materials and strategies are being developed to field test during summer school.

Plans for the remainder of the 1977-78 school year include redefinition of responsibilities within the Division of Learning. Many problems still exist. Constant monitoring and upgrading of the quality of inservice is required. Interfacing with other units continues to need attention. Weaving together all the strands of instructional support is the major goal of the Division of Learning. This is because only through the strength of coordinated effort can there be positive impact on student achievement. We believe students can learn; we believe teachers can teach. Our job is to direct our work and our talent in one forceful stream to support the learning activities in the classroom.

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11/79